

## Introduction

Many of the books quoted by al-Maqrīzī are no longer extant, hence the significance of his excerpts.<sup>1,2</sup> Al-Maqrīzī usually mentions the compilers of the books he quotes from (see index, under “Quoted sources”), but he rarely provides book titles (see index, under “Quoted titles”). By far, the authority quoted most often is ‘Umar b. Šabbah. Ibn Šabbah’s lost monograph on the history of Mecca, *Kitāb Aḥbār Makkah*, the title of which appears twice, is the source of much of the new evidence, including the rare texts (§ 110 ff.) about idol worship in Medina at the time of the *hiğrah*.<sup>3</sup>

Due to the lack of significant archaeological excavations in most of Arabia (in this introduction Arabia refers to the Arabian Peninsula), the primary sources, for all their weaknesses, remain indispensable. There are promising sites for future archaeological excavations, such as, for example, the site of the idol Manāt in or near Qudayd and that of the idol al-‘Uzzā in Buss, not far from Dāt ‘Irq (see map).<sup>4</sup> The *mīqāt* of Dāt ‘Irq is roughly 105 kilometers from the Ka’bah (the *mīqāt* is the point at which the pilgrims enter a state of *iḥrām*).<sup>5</sup> We might expect to find the remains of temples, however modest, and bones of sacrificial animals in both sites, and indeed in many other sites in Arabia.

The role of idol worship is of crucial importance for the study of Arabia on the eve of Islam. The very existence of the Arabian idols has been questioned, but a thorough investigation of the primary sources suggests that their existence is beyond doubt. A large number of idols of various kinds must have been worshipped all over Arabia. While idolatry was, perhaps, in retreat elsewhere, in Arabia it showed no signs of decline. It may well be impossible to gauge the Arabs’ devotion to their idols, but it stands to reason that idolatry formed a major obstacle for Muḥammad in both Mecca and Medina. There were many forms of idol worship. In al-Yamāmah, for example, a pilgrim would sit at the top of a hillock and then someone would grab his leg and pull him down to the bottom four times (§ 138).<sup>6</sup>

1 The introduction draws heavily on my earlier work, especially on a little known article: Lecker (2005a).

2 The significance of relatively late sources in the study of early Islam has recently been reinstated forcefully; see Munt (2012): 2–3.

3 Lecker (1993): 331.

4 On Buss, see Lecker (1989): 37–41. On al-‘Uzzā, see “al-‘Uzzā,” in *EI*<sup>2</sup> (Macdonald & Nehmé).

5 *Iḥrām* is the state of temporary consecration of someone who is performing the *ḥağğ* or *‘umrah*; see “Iḥrām,” in *EI*<sup>2</sup> (Wensinck & Jomier).

6 Lecker (forthcoming).

The rejection of idol worship is a prominent element in the reports about the pre-Islamic *hanīfs*. Idols appear in legendary and stereotypic conversion reports of the Prophet's Companions (or alleged Companions) who lived in various parts of Arabia. The details regarding the idols are reliable, since they form the background information on which the legendary reports were based. More significantly, in Medina, where the spiritual influence of the dominant Jewish population was substantial, idol worship flourished on several levels of the tribal system. We can conclude that if it flourished in Medina, it flourished among the sedentary people everywhere in Arabia.

Nöldeke ascribed the ease with which the Arabs gave up idol worship to the spiritual progress that they had achieved before the rise of Islam.<sup>7</sup> Wellhausen argued that the Meccans clung to idol worship mainly for economic reasons; conversion to Islam was a political rather than a religious matter. Yet when a person converted, his pagan tribe stood by him when others fought against him.<sup>8</sup> Goldziher approvingly quoted Dozy's words that "religion, of whatever kind it may have been, generally had little place in the life of the Arabs, who were engrossed in worldly interests like fighting, wine, games and love."<sup>9</sup> Basing himself on Arabic poetry, Goldziher had in mind the tribes of central Arabia, whose religious belief he contrasted with the religious monuments of South Arabia. Nicholson argued:

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- 7 "Die Araber hatten bis zum Anfang des 7. Jahrhunderts ausserordentliche geistige Fortschritte gemacht wie nicht leicht ein Volk in so ungünstigen Wohnsitzen. Sie waren ihrer alten Religion entwachsen und liessen diese daher fast ohne Widerstand fallen, als sich ihnen der Islām mächtig imponierend darbot. Allderdings, im Vorbeigehn gesagt, vertauschten auch die meisten christlichen Araber ihr Christenthum ohne jedes Bedenken mit dem Islām, der ihrem Wesen viel besser zusagte"; see Nöldeke's review of Wellhausen's *Reste arabischen Heidentums*: Nöldeke (1887): 720.
- 8 Wellhausen (1897): 220–221, and *passim*. Lammens agreed with Wellhausen regarding the weakness of the religious sentiment; Lammens (1928): 139, 181. In this context Buhl (1930): 93 mentioned the indifference of the business-minded Meccans. Paret did not think that the idols and their indifferent followers who only wanted to cling to their fathers' beliefs posed a serious challenge for Muḥammad. Paret (1957): 18 interpreted the passivity of the Arabs when their idols were destroyed at the time of Muḥammad as follows: "Die altarabischen Glaubensvorstellungen waren schon lange verblaßt, bevor sie endgültig durch den Islam abgelöst wurden." Paret was surprised that, of all places, Muḥammad should have appeared among the businessmen of Mecca; Paret (1957): 23. Stummer (1944): 393–394 argued: "Ja, schon Muḥammad traf auf ein Heidentum, dessen geistige Kraft bereits gebrochen und erlahmt war, denn offenbar waren die Einflüsse, die vom Judentum und Christentum auf das vorislamische Arabertum ausstrahlten, nicht unwirksam gewesen."
- 9 Goldziher (1966), 1:12.

Religion had so little influence on the lives of the Pre-Islamic Arabs that we cannot expect to find much trace of it in their poetry ... Of real piety the ordinary Bedouin knew nothing. He felt no call to pray to his gods, although he often found them convenient to swear by. He might invoke Allah in the hour of need, as a drowning man will clutch at a straw; but his faith in superstitious ceremonies was stronger. He did not take his religion too seriously ....<sup>10</sup>

By contrast, Levi Della Vida correctly observed that poetry and reports of battles from which we draw what we know of the life of pre-Islamic Arabs are not a true reflection of Bedouin life, and the verses that attribute religious indifference to the famous warriors should not be trusted.<sup>11</sup>

The incomplete and fragmentary nature of the literary evidence about the pre-Islamic idols is familiar from other aspects of pre- and early Islamic history. Medieval scholars specializing in *ḥadīth* and related topics were naturally interested in the idols mentioned in the Qurʾān, but not in those that only appear in the literary sources. However, philologists like Ibn al-Kalbī (d. ca. 204/818) recorded whatever they learned from their informants, whoever they were. The philologists' curiosity and their state of mind are demonstrated by Ibn al-Kalbī's comment regarding the seven divination arrows of the idol Hubal at the Kaʿbah: he admits that he could not find details about three of them.<sup>12</sup> Scholars of this

10 Nicholson (1966): 135.

11 Levi Della Vida (1938): 89–90. He is quoted by Henninger in connection with the common claim regarding the religious indifference of the Bedouins; namely, that pre-Islamic poetry is rigid, conventional, and limited with regard to its choice of subjects; Henninger (1981): 7–8. See also Krone (1992): 176 (she says that poetry fails to provide details on the religious life of the Bedouin, because religious themes were not among the motifs of the *qaṣīdah*). Still, while idols are rarely encountered in poetry, Allāh is mentioned very often, including by poets who had no link to Muḥammad, either because they lived before his time or because they were not influenced by him. This would demonstrate that religious elements can be found in pre-Islamic poetry, and that there was a decline in idol worship; Krone (1992): 183–186. However, Krone remarks, this “argument from silence” is not decisive: pre-Islamic poetry could easily be “Islamized” and manipulated. Krone realizes that the affair of the “Satanic verses” contradicts the assumption that idol worship at the time of Muḥammad was in decline (“stark im Niedergang”), and hence unconvincingly interprets it as a political rather than a religious affair; Krone (1992): 204–207. Andrae (1960): 16–17, however, found in Arabia “an undeveloped polytheism, in which a development had just barely begun which would have gradually produced a pantheon consisting of a hierarchy of gods, formed by associating together a number of independent individual divinities.”

12 *Wa-ṭalāṭah lam tufassar* (!) *lī ʿalā mā kānat*; Yāqūt, *Muʿjam al-buldān*, 5:391, s.v. Hubal; Ibn

kind were always on the lookout for evidence from every possible source. *Ḥadīṭ* scholars, by contrast, were selective in their choice of informants and faithfully transmitted to their disciples exact copies of what they had learned from their teachers.

A note about Ibn al-Kalbī's sources in *al-Aṣnām* may be in place here. He often quotes his father, who is referred to both in the first person (*ḥaddaṭa/nā l-Kalbī*, and *aḥbaranī abī*), or in the third person (*ʿan abīhi*).

Two sources merit special notice. Concerning al-Fals, the idol of Ṭayyī', Ibn al-Kalbī quotes Abū Bāsil al-Ṭā'ī, who in turn quotes his paternal uncle, 'Antarah b. al-Aḥras whom one source describes as a Ḡāhili poet,<sup>13</sup> while another source, which calls Abū Bāsil an expert on Ṭā'ī matters (*wa-kāna ... ʿāliman bi-amr Ṭayyī'*), says that he was *muḥaḍram*, i.e. he also lived in early Islam.<sup>14</sup> These two members of the Ṭayyī' point to the tribal sources behind many of Ibn al-Kalbī's materials.

Far more significant is a source quoted by al-Kalbī's father, namely Abū Šāliḥ, who quotes Ibn 'Abbās. This *isnād*, which appears in *al-Aṣnām* several times, is linked to the transmission of Ibn 'Abbās's exegesis and is very common in Qur'ān exegesis and elsewhere. The Kufan Abū Šāliḥ al-Hāšimī (d. ca. 95/714 or ca. 115/733),<sup>15</sup> whose name was Bādām (or Bādān) was the *mawlā*, or manumitted slave, of Umm Hānī' bt. Abī Ṭālib ('Alī's sister, hence the *nisbah* al-Hāšimī).<sup>16</sup>

Certain idols are only known through their mention in poetry, because verse stood a better chance of being remembered and recorded than did prose. Often we learn about an idol from a (semi-)autobiographical report of its custodian or of the person who destroyed it. The custodians are supposed to have been the first to realize that after Muḥammad's mission, idol worship became futile. The fact that its creators were not interested in idol worship *per se* strengthens the weight of the source material; the idols were in the background, taken for granted. The personal viewpoint predominates. The same is true of the idol

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al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 28. Cf. al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:117–118, who quotes from Ibn Ishāq a report about all seven arrows.

13 Al-'Awtabī, *al-Ansāb*, 1:313.

14 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 5:163, calls him 'Anbarah b. al-Aḥraṣ. He is also called after his grandmother on his mother's side 'Antarah ibn 'Ukburah; al-Āmidī, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-muḥtaliḥ* 225.

15 According to al-Buḥārī, he died in the last decade of the first Islamic century, while according to al-Dahabī he died in the second decade of the second Islamic century; al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 4:8, note. The earlier death date should perhaps be given priority, since some made the flimsy claim that he was a Companion of Muḥammad; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ḡābah*, 6:167.

16 Rubin (2011a): 10.

destroyers who sought credit for their acts. The focus is not on the Ġāhili symbol but on the person. Typically, the person's offspring take part in preserving the story. In other words, the strong biographical bias of the Islamic literature is also evident in reports about idols. Differences and contradictions are an inevitable outcome.

There are numerous indications of a direct shift from idol worship to Islam. For example, when Yazīd b. al-Aswad al-Ġarašī was asked how old he was, he answered that he had witnessed the cult of al-'Uzzá in the town of his tribe.<sup>17</sup> 'Amr b. Maymūn al-Awdī l-Maḍḥiġī who lived in Muḥammad's time (although he was not a Companion) stated that he had worshipped Allāt in the Ġāhiliyyah.<sup>18</sup> A member of the Ḥawlān tribe grew long hair (which reached his shoulders) in order to offer it to an unspecified idol (*li-ṣanam kāna lanā fi l-ġāhiliyyah*). But God caused the sacrifice to be postponed, and the Ḥawlānī shaved his hair after he had converted to Islam.<sup>19</sup> It is not clear whether he was a Companion of Muḥammad,<sup>20</sup> but there can be no doubt that the interval was only a matter of several months or perhaps a year.<sup>21</sup>

The disputes regarding the identity of certain custodians indicate that even well into the Islamic period former custodians (or their descendants) gained prestige from their previous roles. The custodian's office, being a form of past prominence, was a source of pride. Some former custodians smoothly entered Muḥammad's nascent state. For example, Ḥuzā'ī b. 'Abd Nuhm (§123), the former custodian of Muzaynah's idol Nuhm,<sup>22</sup> swore allegiance to Muḥammad on behalf of the Muzaynah tribe (*fa-bāya'ahu 'alā qawmihi Muzaynah*) and carried Muzaynah's banner (*liwā'*) during the conquest of Mecca.<sup>23</sup> Muḥammad put Rāšid al-Sulamī (§66), the last custodian of one of the two idols named Suwā', in charge of his tribe (*wa-'aqada lahu 'alā qawmihi*), which probably means that Muḥammad acknowledged his leadership. Rāšid participated in the

17 *Adraktu l-'Uzzá tu'badu fi qaryat qawmī*; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 65:107; al-Dāraquṭnī, *al-Mu'talif wa-l-muḥtalif*, 2:945. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 4:1570 has *al-aṣnām* instead of *al-'Uzzá*.

18 Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 46:414. On 'Amr see Cook (1999): 47–48.

19 *Asbaltu ša'ri li-aḡuzzahu li-ṣanam kāna lanā fi l-ġāhiliyyah fa-aḥḥara llāh dālīka ḥattā ġazaztuhu fi l-islām*; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 9:439, no. 4622.

20 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 4:1722–1724.

21 Compare the practice of the Aws and Ḥazraġ at the end of the annual pilgrimage to Mecca: instead of shaving their hair there, together with the other pilgrims, they would shave it near Manāt; Lecker (2005a): 34.

22 Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 39–40.

23 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:252–253; 5:143.

conquest of Mecca,<sup>24</sup> and Muḥammad appointed him to a certain administrative role in Nağrān.<sup>25</sup>

## 1 Idols in Conversion Reports

Idols appear in many (semi-)autobiographical conversion reports. Although these reports are rather stereotypic and formulaic, they include valuable background information, which by definition is relatively reliable. Conversion reports often became family traditions. At a later stage some found their way into compilations of *dalā'il al-nubuwwah* (the proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood), among other types of literature; however, their secondary usage does not detract from their significance for the study of Arabian society. Some of the reports about the *wufūd* (the tribal delegations that visited Muḥammad) refer to idols, while other reports do not. This does not mean that some tribes had idols, while others had none, rather some tribal informants concentrated on other themes, or their original reports were later curtailed. In any case, for the tribesmen, Muḥammad's mission was the antithesis of idol worship.<sup>26</sup>

### 1.1 *Hudayl: Sā'idah al-Hudālī and the Idol Suwā' of wādī Na'mān*

Ibn Sa'd quotes the following from al-Wāqidi < 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd (b. Qanṭas) al-Hudālī<sup>27</sup> < 'Abd Allāh b. Sā'idah al-Hudālī < his father. Sā'idah heard a voice from within "their idol," Suwā'. Several Hudālīs, including Sā'idah, were leading two hundred scabby sheep to the idol in order to ask for its blessing, but a voice from within it announced that the deceit of the *ġinn* was no longer effective: the *ġinn* had been shot dead by falling stars because of a prophet called Aḥmad.<sup>28</sup>

24 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:266; Lecker (1989): 54–55.

25 *Ista'mala rasūlu llāh ṣ Abā Sufyān b. Ḥarb 'alā Nağrān fa-wallāhu l-ṣalāt wa-l-ḥarb wa-wağğaha Rāšid b. 'Abd Rabbihi amīran 'alā l-qaḍā' wa-l-maẓālīm*; Ibn 'Abd Rabbihi, *al-'Iqd al-farīd*, 1:308; Lecker (1989): 59; Lecker (2005a): 16, n. 77.

26 The delegation of the Nahd declared: *barīnā ilayka yā rasūla llāh mina l-waṭan wa-l-'aṭan*; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ğābah*, 3:96 (printed: *wa-l-'anan*). *Aṭan* is interpreted as a small idol (*al-šanam*), while *waṭan* refers to a larger idol; Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *'aṭan*. The Ḥawlān delegation promised Muḥammad that upon returning home, they would destroy their idol 'Umyānis; Goldfeld (1973): 110–111.

27 Ibn 'Adī, *al-Kāmil*, 4:1550.

28 *Qad dahaba kayd al-ğinn wa-rumīnā bi-l-ṣuḥub li-nabī smuhu Aḥmad*; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:141. Cf. *ibid.*, 1:140 (*lammā bu'ṭa Muḥammad ṣ duḥira l-ğinn wa-rumū bi-l-kawākib, wa-kānū qabla dālika yastamī'ūna*). Ibn Ḥağar, who quotes this report from Abū Nu'aym's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, declared the *isnād* "weak"; Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 3:7–8.

The idol, or rather the *ġinnī* residing in it or associated with it, had a healing power.<sup>29</sup>

Al-Wāqidī quotes a similar report from the same ‘Abd Allāh b. Yazīd al-Huḍalī < Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr al-Huḍalī < his father. ‘Amr had slaughtered the first slaughter animal which was a fat cow on their idol Suwā’, and then a voice was heard from within it announcing the appearance of a prophet in Mecca. When the Huḍalīs made inquiries in Mecca, only Abū Bakr could confirm the Prophet’s appearance. The Huḍalīs refrained from embracing Islam then and there, which they later regretted.<sup>30</sup> The entry on ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd al-Huḍalī in Ibn Ḥaġar’s biographical dictionary of Companions refers to three sources which adduce this report: Abū Nu‘aym’s biographical dictionary of Companions, Abū Nu‘aym’s *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah* (which has a long version), and al-Hargūšī’s *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*.<sup>31</sup> So instead of Sā‘idah al-Huḍalī in this account we have ‘Amr (or ‘Amr b. Sa‘īd) al-Huḍalī, and instead of sheep we find a cow. In any case, Huḍayl’s association with Suwā’ remains. Be it Sā‘idah or ‘Amr, it is a family tradition mainly interested in establishing a Companion status for the protagonist; the idol is in the background.

This Suwā’ was in wadi Na‘mān; hence, it was not identical with the other Suwā’ located in wadi Ruhāt (see map). The latter was worshipped by the Sulaym and the Huḍayl, and had a Sulamī custodian. The former was worshipped by the Kinānah, the Huḍayl, the Muzaynah, and the ‘Amr b. Qays ‘Aylan. Its custodians were the Šāhilah from the Huḍayl.<sup>32</sup>

## 1.2 *Sulaym: Rāšid b. ‘Abd Rabbihi, the Custodian of Suwā’ of wadi Ruhāt (§ 66)*

Ibn Sa‘d, under *wafd* Sulaym (the Sulaym delegation), has three reports, the second of which deals with the former custodian of an idol belonging to the Sulaym, Rāšid b. ‘Abd Rabbihi. The Prophet replaced his pagan name, Ġawī b.

29 A *šayṭān* named Mis‘ar that used to talk to the people through idols was killed by believing *ġinnīs*, one of whom was Samḥaġ; Abū Nu‘aym, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah* 109–110. The wording, *hāḍā šayṭān yukallimu l-nās fī l-awṭān*, may suggest that it was not associated with a specific idol.

30 Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:141.

31 Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:639.

32 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 316. Al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta’rīḥ*, 1:255, only mentions the Kinānah as the owners of Suwā’, but perhaps the text is garbled. In Lecker (1989): 54, the statement associating Suwā’ with wadi Na‘mān is presented as a variant version regarding its location. I now realize that there were two Suwā’s, and this may have caused confusion. Cf. Hawting (1999): 119–121 (on p. 121, read Šāhilah instead of Šaḥālah). The most prominent member of the Šāhilah was the Prophet’s Companion ‘Abd Allāh b. Mas‘ūd.

‘Abd al-‘Uzzá, with an Islamic one. Rāšid became convinced of the fallacy of idolatry when he saw two foxes urinating on the idol. He smashed it and went to the Prophet, who granted him a place called Ruhāt that had a well (later called) ‘Ayn al-Rasūl.<sup>33</sup> Ibn Sa’d does not specify his source, but the style is familiar from similar reports.

A family tradition going back to Rāšid (no doubt through his offspring) is preserved. It was paraphrased by Samhūdī, but even in its abridged form it includes illuminating evidence. Rāšid’s report refers twice to *al-ma’lāt min Ruhāt*, or the upper part of wadi Ruhāt. This is where the idol Suwā‘, which was worshipped by the Banū Ḥafṣ of Sulaym and the Huḍayl, was located, and it defined the Prophet’s grant of land to Rāšid. That is, Rāšid received the site of the idol. The spring referred to as ‘Ayn al-Rasūl was created miraculously by the Prophet’s blessing (it is called Mā’ al-Rasūl). Rāšid heard a mysterious voice (*hātif*) from within Suwā‘ and from other idols announcing Muḥammad’s prophethood. He also saw two foxes licking the ground around the idol, eating the gifts offered to it, and urinating on it.<sup>34</sup>

Rāšid’s entry in Ibn Ḥaḡar’s biographical dictionary of Companions has passages from earlier biographical dictionaries of Companions, including Abū Nu‘aym’s. Abū Nu‘aym quotes Ibn Zabālah’s lost book on the history of Medina, which was one of Samhūdī’s main sources. Ibn Zabālah quotes from none other than Rāšid’s grandson (or great-grandson), Ḥākim b. ‘Aṭā’ al-Sulamī. Ḥākim identified the idol as Suwā‘ and reported its location as al-Ma’lāt.<sup>35</sup> A slightly longer quotation from Abū Nu‘aym’s dictionary states that Suwā‘ was *bi-l-ma’lāt min Ruhāt*.<sup>36</sup> Another passage in Ibn Ḥaḡar’s entry is quoted from Ibn Ḥibbān al-Bustī’s biographical dictionary of Companions. Rāšid’s name (here it is Ġawī b. Ḍālim) was replaced by the Prophet with the name Rāšid b. ‘Abd Allāh. One of the foxes, we are told, raised its leg and urinated on the idol. The differences are not relevant; these are versions of the story of Rāšid’s conversion.<sup>37</sup>

Rāšid’s offspring transmitted yet another report about their father. The *Man-āsik* has the following *isnād*: Abū Muḥammad al-Warrāq, i.e. ‘Abd Allāh b.

33 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:265–266.

34 Al-Samhūdī, *Wafā’ al-wafā’*, 4:1225; Lecker (1989): 52–59, with further discussion.

35 *Kāna l-ṣanamu l-ladī yuqālu lahu Suwā’* [printed: *Suwa’*] *bi-l-Ma’lāt, fa-ḡakara qīṣṣat islā-mihi wa-kasrihi iyyāhu*; Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:434.

36 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥaṣā’iṣ*, 2:193.

37 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:434–435. Ibn Ḥibbān’s book quoted here is probably *Asmā’ al-ṣaḥābah*, on which see *GA*, 1:191. Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2:504, has a *kunyah*: Rāšid b. ‘Abd Allāh Abū Uṭaylah; his former name was Ḍālim or, according to some, Ġawī b. Ḍālim, which the Prophet replaced with the name Rāšid b. ‘Abd Allāh. In Ibn Ḥibbān, *Ta’rīḥ al-ṣaḥābah* 100, he is called Rāšid b. Ḥafṣ al-Sulamī Abū Uṭaylah. He was from the people of the Ḥiḡāz and the Prophet replaced his former name Ḍālim with the name Rāšid.



Abī Saʿd al-Warrāq<sup>38</sup> < Yaḥyā b. ʿAbd al-Malik b. Ismāʿīl al-Sulamī < Numayr b. Muḥammad b. ʿUqayl al-Ẓafarī (the Ẓafar were among the worshippers of Suwāʿ) < his grandfather (or great-grandfather), who informed him that their father Rāšid b. Rāšid, formerly known as Ẓālim b. Ġāwī, was with the Prophet in a wadi called Ruhāt. The latter granted him a spring which he had created miraculously, together with the declivity in which it ran. When the report was recorded, the place still belonged to Rāšid's offspring.<sup>39</sup> The above-mentioned ʿAyn al-Rasūl/Māʾ al-Rasūl is identical to ʿAyn al-Nabī mentioned elsewhere.<sup>40</sup> While there is no mention here of Rāšid's custodianship, the mention of Ruhāt indicates that Rāšid b. Rāšid is in fact Rāšid the former custodian, and thus we have here other descendants who preserved a report about him. Note that there is a certain discrepancy between Rāšid's pedigree and that of his offspring: the informant who was Rāšid's descendant was from the above-mentioned Ẓafar, i.e. Ẓafar b. al-Ḥārīt b. Buḥṭah b. Sulaym, while Rāšid's pedigree indicates that he was of the Kaʿb b. al-Ḥārīt b. Buḥṭah b. Sulaym. However, elsewhere Rāšid is referred to as a member of the Ẓafar.<sup>41</sup> Perhaps the distinction between the brother clans Ẓafar and Kaʿb disappeared at a certain point in time, or a genealogical shift took place.<sup>42</sup>

### 1.3 *ʿUqayl: Abū Ḥarb b. Ḥuwaylid and the Divination Arrows*

The following is in fact a report of a near conversion. Among the ʿUqaylis mentioned by Ibn Saʿd under the title *wafd* ʿUqayl b. Kaʿb one figure remained pagan, namely Abū Ḥarb b. Ḥuwaylid b. ʿAmir b. ʿUqayl. He cast lots with arrows (*wa-ḍaraba bi-l-qidāḥ*) in order to decide between Islam and his own religion (*dīn*), and after the arrow of disbelief had emerged three times, he did not convert.<sup>43</sup> Ibn Saʿd quotes two reports on *wafd* ʿUqayl b. Kaʿb from Ibn al-Kalbī < a man of the ʿUqayl < their elders (*ašyāḥ qawmihi*).<sup>44</sup>

38 Anon., *al-Manāsik* 124–125.

39 Anon., *al-Manāsik* 350.

40 Anon., *al-Manāsik* 349. The unspecified Ẓafarī mentioned here must have been Rāšid. He asked the Prophet *an yasqiyahu bi-Ruhāt ʿaynan*, i.e. that he grant him a spring in Ruhāt. This is parallel to Rāšid's request that the Prophet grant him a *qaṭīrah* in Ruhāt; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥaṣāʾiṣ*, 2:194.

41 Anon., *al-Manāsik* 349.

42 Lecker (1989): 59.

43 Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:261. Contrast the famous report on Imruʾ al-Qays's breaking of the arrows of Ḍū l-Ḥalaṣah in Tabālah. His forceful action is thought to have put an end to the practice of divination (*istiḡṣām*) there; e.g. Ibn ʿAsākir, *Dimašq*, 9:239 (*fa-lam yustaqsam ʿinda Ḍi l-Ḥalaṣah ḥattā ḡāʾa llāh bi-l-islām*).

44 Ibn Ḥaḡar includes Abū Ḥarb in the first category of Companions, i.e. among those whose Companion status is mentioned in a *ḥadīṭ* of any level of reliability, or is proven otherwise;

#### 1.4 *Sa'd b. Bakr: Ẹimām b. Ta'labah and the Idols*

Ibn Sa'd, under *waḥd* Sa'd b. Bakr, quotes from al-Wāqidi the report on Ẹimām b. Ta'labah who arrived at Medina in Raḡab 5/November–December 626. He returned to his people as a Muslim, having repudiated the idols.<sup>45</sup> According to al-Wāqidi, Ẹimām arrived in Raḡab 5 in the first Arab delegation that came to Muḥammad.<sup>46</sup> Ibn Hišām, quoting Abū 'Ubaydah (Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā), dates Ẹimām's arrival to 9/630 or 631; Ibn Ḥaḡar, probably correctly, prefers the later date.<sup>47</sup>

Ẹimām began the report to his people about his visit to Muḥammad by cursing Allāt and al-'Uzzā; his shocked audience warned him of the threat of leprosy, elephantiasis, and madness.<sup>48</sup>

Several versions of Ẹimām's report, which has legal implications, enjoy a high profile in the relevant Islamic literature. In the legal context the report is accompanied by respectable *isnāds* that avoid obscure tribal authorities.

#### 1.5 *Kalb: Iṣām al-Kalbī, the Custodian of 'Amrah*

Iṣām, a Kalbī of the 'Āmir b. 'Awf subdivision, was the custodian of a tribal idol called 'Amrah (or 'Amr?). No further details are given about him, perhaps because the report was not preserved by one of his descendants, but by members of another family. 'Amr b. Ġabalāh b. Wā'ilāh al-Kalbī reports that they had an idol (*kāna lanā ṣanam*)—the wording and the existence of a custodian suggest that it was a tribal idol, not a household one. One day a voice from within the idol announced that idol worship had come to an end, following which 'Amr and Iṣām went to Muḥammad and embraced Islam.<sup>49</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī and

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Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 7:88; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ġamharat al-nasab* 334. Abū Ḥarb demanded that his tribe be exempted from *'uṣr* and *ḥaṣr*; on these terms, see Lecker (2001): 32–38.

45 *Qad ḥala'a l-andād*; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:259.

46 *Wa-kāna awwal man qadima min waḥd al-'arab*: Ibn Baṣkuwāl, *Ġawāmiḍ al-asmā'*, 1:58. The *isnād* goes back to Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar, i.e. al-Wāqidi's son < his father. For an *isnād* including Muḥammad b. Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidi < his father, see e.g. Abū Nu'aym, *Ḍikr aḡbār Iṣbahān*, 2:44; al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *al-Asmā' al-mubhamah* 356. For an entry on al-Wāqidi's son, see al-Ḥaṭīb al-Baḡdādī, *Ta'riḥ Baḡdād*, 3:196–197, s.v. Muḥammad b. al-Wāqidi (he transmitted from his father, among other books, the latter's *Kitāb al-ta'riḥ*).

47 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 3:487. In the report on Ẹimām in Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 4:219–221, note that there is no mention of Abū 'Ubaydah or the date of Ẹimām's arrival. Al-Wāqidi dates his arrival to the year of the Ḥandaq, after the departure of the *aḡzāb*, while another source dates his arrival to 7/628–629; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Ġāmi'*, 4:144.

48 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 4:220; Ibn Ṣabbah, *Ta'riḥ al-Madīnah*, 2:521–523; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 1:1722–1724.

49 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:501 (quoting al-Ḥargūṣī's *Ṣaraf al-muṣṭafā*). The entry is entitled

Abū 'Ubayd al-Qāsim b. Sallām list 'Amr b. Ġabalāh among those who paid a formal visit (*wafada*) to the Prophet.<sup>50</sup>

'Amr's grandson, namely Sa'īd b. al-Walīd b. 'Amr al-Abraš al-Kalbī, was Hišām's *ḥāḡib* and one of the most influential figures in the Umayyad administration.<sup>51</sup> In another pedigree of al-Abraš, one which is perhaps more trustworthy, his grandfather's name is not 'Amr but 'Abd 'Amr, which may suggest that the idol's name was 'Amr rather than 'Amrah.<sup>52</sup> In a variant of the above report the voice from within the idol addresses 'Abd 'Amr/Bakr. The report was recorded by Ibn al-Kalbī, whose informants were al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr and others. If indeed al-Ḥārīt b. 'Amr was Ibn al-Kalbī's direct source, he could not have been the protagonist's son.<sup>53</sup>

By tracing al-Abraš's pedigree it is possible to identify the 'Āmir b. 'Awf subdivision of the Kalb tribe as 'Āmir al-Akbar b. 'Awf b. Bakr b. 'Awf b. 'Uḍrah, more precisely 'Āmir al-Ġulāḥ b. 'Awf b. Bakr b. 'Awf b. 'Āmir al-Akbar.<sup>54</sup> 'Abd 'Amr's brother, al-Nu'mān, is said to have gone to the Prophet together with his brother.<sup>55</sup>

One assumes that the influential Abraš attempted to secure for his ancestor a place among the Prophet's Companions. In any case, the evidence concerning the idol's existence must be reliable.

"Išām b. 'Āmir al-Kalbī," but I could not find support for his father's name. He was *min Banī Fāris* (?). 'Amr's son, 'Abd, appears to have played some role here, otherwise there would have been no entry on him in the *Išābah*. According to the entry, Wā'ilah's father was called al-Ġulāḥ; Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Išābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:387 (printed: Wā'il, instead of Wā'ilah).

50 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Išābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:613 (Wā'il instead of Wā'ilah; Wā'il's father was Qays b. Bakr; see al-Abraš's pedigree below, where these two appear together with al-Ġulāḥ). Perhaps Abū 'Ubayd compiled a monograph on the *wufūd*. For a possible quotation from this presumed monograph see Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Išābah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:456, s.v. Ġabalāh b. Tawr al-Ḥanaḡī.

51 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Išābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:613 (the "ibn" between "Sa'īd" and "al-Abraš" is superfluous).

52 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add*, 2:608 (printed Sa'd instead of Sa'īd). A longer pedigree of al-Abraš makes him a great-great-grandson of 'Abd 'Amr, rather than a grandson: Sa'īd b. Bakr b. 'Abd Qays b. al-Walīd b. 'Abd 'Amr b. Ġabalāh b. Wā'il b. Qays b. Bakr b. al-Ġulāḥ (referred to as Hišām's *wazūr*); Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'arab* 458. The words "b. Bakr b. 'Abd Qays" are superfluous, as he could not have had a grandfather called 'Abd Qays who lived in the Islamic period. See al-Abraš's full pedigree in Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 7:295.

53 Here the idol is called 'Ayr, var. 'Amr; Ibn Mandah, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī, in Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Išābah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:322. See an entry on Bakr/'Abd 'Amr in Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 6:310. Ibn Sa'd is quoted in Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 7:298. In Ibn al-Aḡīr, *Uḡd al-ġābah*, 1:410 (with reference to the biographical dictionaries of Ibn Mandah and Abū Nu'aym), the idol's name is 't.r.

54 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add*, 2:607–608; Caskel (1966), 1: table 289.

55 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Išābah*<sup>2</sup>, 6:441 (where the *nisbah* al-'Uḡrī is misleading). Al-Nu'mān is referred to as Ibn al-Ġulāḥ in Ibn Durayd, *al-Iṣṭiqāq* 541.

### 1.6 *Ġuhaynah: The Custodian ‘Amr b. Murrah*

Ibn Sa‘d, under *wafd* Ġuhaynah, quotes two reports, both going back to Ibn al-Kalbī. One deals with two persons, while the other, dealing with one, refers to idol worship. Ibn al-Kalbī quotes Ḥālid b. Sa‘d < an unspecified man from the Ġuhaynah, more precisely the Duhmān < his father, who was a Companion < ‘Amr b. Murrah: “We had an idol and we used to worship it (*nu‘azzimuhu*). I was its custodian, and when I heard about the Prophet, I demolished it and set out for the Prophet in Medina.”<sup>56</sup> The words “we had an idol” and the existence of a custodian indicate that the idol belonged to a tribal group.

### 1.7 *‘Udrah: Ziml b. ‘Amr and Ḥumām (§160)*

The idol of the ‘Udrah, Ḥumām, is associated with the conversion of Ziml b. ‘Amr al-‘Udrī. Ibn Sa‘d, under *wafd* ‘Udrah, adduces two reports. One deals with the *wafd* as a whole, which included twelve members, four of whom are specified; the other, quoted from Ibn al-Kalbī < Šarqī b. al-Quṭāmī < Mudliġ b. al-Miqdād b. Ziml b. ‘Amr, is about the informant’s grandfather, Ziml b. ‘Amr. For part of the report Ibn al-Kalbī relied on another informant, namely Abū Zufar al-Kalbī (possibly quoting the same family *isnād*). Ziml’s idol is not specified in this report. It states that Ziml went to the Prophet and informed him about what he had heard from within their idol. The Prophet replied: “This is a believer from among the *ġinn*.”<sup>57</sup> Elsewhere a report on this topic can be traced back to Abū l-Ḥārīt Muḥammad b. al-Ḥārīt, with a family *isnād* going back to Ziml b. ‘Amr. The idol belonged to the ‘Udrah (not to Ziml alone) and its name was Ḥumām. More specifically, it was among (i.e. it belonged to) the Hind b. Ḥarām b. Ḍinnah b. ‘Abd b. Kabīr b. ‘Udrah. Its custodian was called Ṭāriq and they used to sacrifice sheep (or goats, *ya‘tirūna*) at it.<sup>58</sup>

Ziml and some of his descendants were prominent in the Umayyad regime. Ziml, who received a house (*dār*) in Damascus from Mu‘āwiyah, was in charge of Mu‘āwiyah’s *šurṭah* (internal security force). In the Battle of Šiffīn he reportedly carried the banner with which the Prophet had given him authority

56 Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:287–288; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 46:343. ‘Amr abandoned the stone idols (*ālīhat al-aḥḡār*), according to his verse that is attached to the report. In another report (Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 46:344), the custodian was ‘Amr’s father.

57 Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:286. The same report is quoted from Ibn Sa‘d in Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 19:77. Mudliġ reports on the authority of his father, and Abū Zufar al-Kalbī is replaced by al-Ḥārīt b. ‘Amr b. Ġuzayy (perhaps identical with Abū Zufar al-Kalbī) < his paternal uncle, ‘Umārah b. Ġuzayy. In Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:567, no. 2818, where Ibn Sa‘d is quoted, the text is garbled.

58 Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 11:489–490.

over his tribe. He was one of Mu'āwiyah's witnesses at the Šiffin arbitration agreement (Šafar 37/August 657) and was killed in the Battle of Marḡ Rāhiṭ.<sup>59</sup>

For generations Ziml's report was preserved by his offspring, regardless of its incorporation in the general literary tradition. Tammām b. Muḥammad adduced it in his *Fawā'id* on the authority of the above-mentioned Abū l-Ḥāriṭ Muḥammad b. al-Ḥāriṭ < his fathers.<sup>60</sup> In other words, the family tradition, which was probably written down at an early date, coexisted with the literature. Ziml's grandson, Mudliḡ b. al-Miqdād, transmitted his *ḥadīṭ* to his son, Hānī', and to two non-family members, Šarqī b. al-Quṭāmī and Yazīd b. Sa'īd al-'Absī.<sup>61</sup>

### 1.8 *Hamdān: al-'Awwām b. Ğuhayl, the Custodian of Yağūt*

Al-'Awwām b. Ğuhayl al-Hamdānī was the custodian of Yağūt, according to an autobiographical report from al-'Awwām himself (*kāna l-'Awwām yuḥaddīṭu ba'da islāmihī*).<sup>62</sup> He slept at the idol's sanctuary (*bayt al-šanam*), and after a stormy night he heard a mysterious voice (*ḥātīf*) announcing the end of idolatry. Al-'Awwām set out for Medina and arrived in time to see the Hamdān delegation surrounding the Prophet.<sup>63</sup>

### 1.9 *Sa'd al-'Ashīrah: Ḍubāb and Farrā(š/d) (§ 157)*

An idol called Farrāš<sup>64</sup> appears in the report on *wafd* Sa'd al-'Ašīrah. Ibn al-Kalbī (< Abū Kubrān al-Murādī < Yaḥyá b. Hānī' b. 'Urwah < 'Abd al-Raḥmān b. Abī Sabrah al-Ğu'fi) quotes a report on the visit of Ḍubāb, a man of the Anas Allāh b. Sa'd al-'Ašīrah, to the Prophet. When Ḍubāb and his fellow tribesmen heard about the appearance (*ḥurūġ*) of the Prophet, Ḍubāb smashed the idol Farrāš

59 Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 19:76–77. Under Yazīd b. Mu'āwiyah he was in charge of the *ḥātam*; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 21:95. Mudliḡ b. al-Miqdād b. Ziml who was a *šarīf* in Syria was married to Aminah bt. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, Ḥālid al-Qasrī's sister; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 57:189 (read al-Qasrī instead of al-Qušayrī); Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:568.

60 In Tammām's book the idol is called Ḥumām; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 52:245; Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:568. On Tammām b. Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Rāzī (d. 414/1023) see GAS, 1:226–227; al-Kattānī, *al-Risālah al-mustatrafah* 71.

61 Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 57:189.

62 One assumes that the report was preserved by al-'Awwām's offspring.

63 Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:736–737, quoting Ibn al-Kalbī. Ibn Ḥaġar quotes Ibn al-Kalbī's report from an unspecified treatise of Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī, who in turn quotes Ibn Durayd's *al-Aḥbār al-manṭūrah*. In Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ġābah*, 4:295, who similarly quotes Abū Aḥmad al-'Askarī, we find that Ibn Durayd quotes al-Sakan b. Sa'īd < Muḥammad b. 'Abbād < Ibn al-Kalbī.

64 Wellhausen (1897): 67; Našr, *al-Amkinah*, 2:325.

and went to him.<sup>65</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī's immediate source was Abū Kubrān al-Ḥasan b. 'Uqbah al-Murādī.<sup>66</sup> Scholars of the Murādī tribe were naturally interested in the history of their fellow tribesmen, especially in connection with their tribe's first contact with the Prophet. Yaḥyá belonged to a subdivision of the Murād called Ġuṭayf (§ 20).<sup>67</sup> As to the Ġu'fi informant, note that Ġu'fi was a branch of the Sa'd al-'Ašīrah. Moreover, the Anas Allāh b. Sa'd al-'Ašīrah were incorporated into the Ġu'fi.<sup>68</sup>

A longer version of Ibn al-Kalbī's report is found in Ibn Šāhīn's biographical dictionary of Companions.<sup>69</sup> Sa'd al-'Ašīrah's idol was called Qarrāš (the *fā'* and the *qāf* are only differentiated by a diacritical point) and the custodian's name was Ibn Waqšah. The custodian had a *ġinnī* that was only visible to him (*ra'ī mina l-ġinn*) who informed him about the future. One day the *ġinnī* informed Ibn Waqšah of something, then he turned to Ḍubāb and informed him of Muḥammad's appearance in Mecca. Ḍubāb smashed the idol and went to Muḥammad. The report is also found in Ibn Mandah's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah* (but not in his biographical dictionary of Companions), in al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, and in al-Mu'āfā b. Zakariyyā's *al-Ġalīs al-šāliḥ*.<sup>70</sup> The literary merits of the report secured it a place in the last mentioned *adab* book.

The existence of Farrāš, the idol of the Sa'd al-'Ašīrah, is arguably the only trustworthy detail in the report on Ḍubāb's conversion.

65 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:295.

66 A report about Farwah b. Musayk al-Murādī's visit to the Prophet has the same *isnād* (Ibn al-Kalbī < Abū Kubrān al-Murādī < Yaḥyá b. Hānī' al-Murādī); Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 6:713. Abū Kubrān was also one of Sayf b. 'Umar's sources; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 63:246.

67 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'arab* 406. Farwah b. Musayk belonged to the same subdivision.

68 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'arab* 407 (*daḥalū fī aḥīhim Ġu'fi*). For an entry on 'Abd al-Raḥmān see Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:308. For an entry on Abū Sabrah Yazīd b. Mālik al-Ġu'fi, see Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 4:1667.

69 Here Ibn al-Kalbī's informant is called al-Ḥasan b. Kaṭīr, probably due to a misprint.

70 Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:402–403; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah*, 2:259. In al-Mu'āfā, *al-Ġalīs al-šāliḥ*, 1:557–558, the custodian is Ibn Waqšah/Ibn Daqšah. In Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ġābah*, 2:208–209, the custodian is Ibn Ruqaybah/Waqšah. The entry is taken from the Companions dictionary of Abū Mūsá Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Abī 'Īsá l-Madīnī l-Iṣfahānī, *Dayl ma'rifat al-ṣaḥābah*, which includes corrections to Ibn Mandah's dictionary and additional materials. According to Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Usd al-ġābah*, 1:110, al-Madīnī's book was one-third shorter than Ibn Mandah's. See an entry on Abū Mūsá in al-Ḍahabī, *Ṣīyar al'lām al-nubalā'*, 21:152–159.

### 1.10 Ṭayyī: Māzin b. al-Ġaḍūbah, the Custodian of Bāġir

The Prophet's Companion Māzin b. al-Ġaḍūbah was of the Ṭayyī', more precisely of the Ḥiṭāmāh, hence his *nisbah* al-Ḥiṭāmī. Ḥiṭāmāh was Māzin's great-great-grandfather.<sup>71</sup> The full version of Māzin's report was preserved in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Muġam al-kabīr*. Māzin was the custodian of an idol called Bāġir<sup>72</sup> located in the 'Umānī village Samā'il (see map).<sup>73</sup> According to Māzin, he was in charge of his people (*fa-kuntu al-qayyim bi-umūrihim*). One day, when he and others were offering sheep (or goats, *fa-'atarnā ... 'atīrah*) to the idol, he heard a voice from within it announcing the appearance of a prophet from Muḍar and calling upon him to abandon his stone idol. A rider from the Ḥiġāz confirmed the appearance of Aḥmad, and Māzin broke the idol into pieces and traveled to the Prophet. The latter cured him of his excessive love for music, wine, and women of ill repute, and blessed the childless Māzin with a boy they named Ḥayyān. The *isnād* for this report goes back to 'Alī b. Ḥarb al-Mawṣilī < Ibn al-Kalbī < his father < 'Abd Allāh al-'Umānī < Māzin b. al-Ġaḍūbah.<sup>74</sup> 'Alī b. Ḥarb b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī<sup>75</sup> b. Ḥayyān b. Māzin b. al-Ġaḍūbah al-Ṭā'ī l-Mawṣilī (d. 265/878–879) was the great-great-grandson of Māzin's only child, Ḥayyān.<sup>76</sup> Al-Kalbī's source, 'Abd Allāh al-'Umānī, was probably a member of Māzin's family who transmitted Māzin's report with all its embellishments and verse. 'Alī b. Ḥarb transmitted *ḥadīth*, among others, from his father, Ḥarb b. Muḥammad, with whom he traveled to learn *ḥadīth*. 'Alī was an expert on the history, genealogy, and wars of the Arabs (*aḥbār al-'Arab wa-ansābihā wa-ayyāmiḥā*).<sup>77</sup> But to learn his own family history he turned to Ibn al-Kalbī. 'Alī and other family members were referred to by the *nisbah* al-Māzinī after their famous ancestor, the former custodian Māzin.<sup>78</sup>

71 Ibn Ḥaġar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 5:704; Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3:344; Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma'add*, 1:261; al-Ḥāzimī, *Uġālat al-mubtadī* 55, s.v. al-Ḥiṭāmī. An entry on Māzin can also be found in Ibn Qānī, *Muġam al-ṣaḥābah*, 3:121–122.

72 Or Bāḥir, or Nāġir; see below.

73 Other variants are al-Simāl, Samāyā, and Sanābil. The last mentioned variant is from al-Ḥimyarī, *al-Rawḍ al-mi'tār* 326, s.v. Sanābil. Regarding the idol's name, cf. Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 63, quoting Ibn Durayd: Bāġ(a/i)r was worshipped by the Azd and their neighbors from the Ṭayyī' and Quḍā'ah; Ibn Durayd, *Ġamharat al-luġah*, 1:267.

74 Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muġam al-kabīr*, 20:337–339. See also al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Aḥādīth al-tiwāl* 154–156. The text in al-Ḥayṭamī, *Maġma' al-zawā'id*, 8:247–248, is garbled.

75 Printed: Ḥarb (instead of 'Alī).

76 Al-Mizzī, *Tahḍīb al-kamāl*, 20:361–365.

77 Al-Mizzī, *Tahḍīb al-kamāl*, 20:361, 20:363–364. 'Alī's father was a merchant; al-Ḍahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 12:251. His entry is followed by entries on three of his brothers; *ibid.*, 12:253–256.

78 Al-Sam'ānī, *al-Ansāb*, 5:165, who mentions a Māzinī called Salamah b. 'Amr.

Al-Ṭabarānī (d. 360/971) received ‘Alī b. Ḥarb’s report through Mūsā b. al-Ġumhūr al-Tinnīsī l-Simsār. ‘Alī’s great-grandson transmitted it in Baghdad in 338/949–950 to the *muḥaddiṭ* Muḥammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Qaṭṭān. The latter transmitted it to Abū Bakr al-Bayhaqī (d. 458/1066), who included it in his *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah*. ‘Alī’s great-grandson included in the report, which he found in his great-grandfather’s written source (*aṣl ḡaddī*), details which he had received from a friend in ‘Umān who referred to a local tradition (*‘an salafi-him*).<sup>79</sup>

Following his conversion, Māzin separated from his tribe<sup>80</sup> and established a mosque that had magical qualities. When someone who had been wronged prayed in it and cursed his oppressor, his prayer was accepted. In the margin of the manuscript (*aṣl al-samā’*) an anonymous hand added that a leper was almost cured there, and hence, to this day the mosque is called *mubriṣ* (curing from leprosy).<sup>81</sup> In this version of the report ‘Alī b. Ḥarb provides details about his meeting with Ibn al-Kalbī. When the latter found out that ‘Alī b. Ḥarb was a descendant of Ḥiṭāmāh, he asked: “From the custodian’s offspring?” Then Ibn al-Kalbī told him what he had heard from *ṣuyūḥ Ṭayyi’ al-mutaqaddimīna* (the elders of the Ṭayyi’).

The family’s attitude to Māzin’s custodianship was far from being apologetic; it was its claim to fame.<sup>82</sup> It was very successful in securing for him Companion status, as is indicated by Māzin’s entries in the biographical dictionaries of Companions<sup>83</sup> and by quotations in other types of literature. For example, it appears in al-Ṭabarānī’s *al-Muḡam al-kabīr*, as quoted above. The *dalā’il al-nubuwwah* literature merits special mention in this context.<sup>84</sup> Māzin’s report was attractive for later compilers because of its legendary elements and verse,

79 Cf. Robinson (2000): 132.

80 The separation is mentioned in al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muḡam al-kabīr*, 20:339, where it is reported that he “moved to the coast.”

81 Al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah*, 2:255–258.

82 In this version, Māzin was a custodian of several idols belonging to his family (*wa-kāna yasdunu l-aṣnām li-ahlihi*); he had an idol called Bāḡir, var. Nāḡir. ‘Alī b. Ḥarb also transmitted the report to the *muḥaddiṭ* ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad al-Ḥanzālī, whence it reached al-Ḥākim al-Naysābūrī (d. 405/1014–1015; it may appear in his *Ta’rīḥ Naysābūr*) via another transmitter; al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah*, 2:258 (here the village is called al-Simāl).

83 Ibn Ḥibbān dissents from the consensus (quoted in Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 5:704: *yūqālu innā lahu ṣuḥbah*); see the same cautious remark in Ibn Ḥibbān, *al-Tiqāt*, 3:407.

84 Abū Nu‘aym, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah* 114–117 (the beginning of the report is garbled; the name of the village was Samāyā; the idol’s name was Bāḡir); al-Bayhaqī, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah*, 2:255–258; al-Suyūṭī, *al-Ḥaṣā’iṣ*, 1:256–257.



but historians looking for relatively solid evidence must depend on the background details, namely the existence of Māzin's idol in a certain village in 'Umān.

Another family tradition is interwoven with the one discussed above. An Arab *mawlā* (manumitted slave) of Māzin, Abū Kaṭīr Ṣāliḥ (or Yasār/Naṣīṭ/ Dīnār) b. al-Mutawakkil, is supposed to have been introduced by Māzin to the Prophet as his slave (*ḡulām*). Prompted by the Prophet, Māzin manumitted him there and then. Ibn Mandah (d. 395/1005) received the report about the *mawlā* from none other than 'Alī b. Ḥarb. 'Alī in turn transmitted it from a descendant of the manumitted slave, al-Ḥasan b. Kaṭīr b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Kaṭīr < his father < his grandfather. Ibn Mandah reports that Ṣāliḥ and his master Māzin were killed in Barḍa'ah during 'Utmān's caliphate.<sup>85</sup>

Ṣāliḥ was useful to Māzin's offspring for transmitting a rather vague *ḥadīth* in favor of truthfulness, which Māzin reported on the Prophet's authority. It supported their claim that Māzin was a Companion of the Prophet.<sup>86</sup>

#### 1.11 *Baḡīlah: Ḡarīr b. 'Abd Allāh and Dū l-Ḥalaṣah (§188–192)*

Ibn Sa'd, under *wafd* Baḡīlah, quotes a report from al-Wāqidī, who in turn quotes a Medinan authority, 'Abd al-Ḥamīd b. Ḡa'far < his father. The report includes details about the destruction of Dū l-Ḥalaṣah (which was located in Tabālah; see map), by Ḡarīr b. 'Abd Allāh al-Baḡālī.<sup>87</sup> But a comparison with reports on the destruction found elsewhere indicates that Ḡarīr himself was the origin. A useful source is al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr* where all the reports go back to Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥālid < Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, with two exceptions: Bayān b. Biṣr al-Baḡālī < Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim, and Ṭariq b. 'Abd al-Raḥmān < Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim.<sup>88</sup>

The Kufan Ismā'īl b. Abī Ḥālid al-Baḡālī l-Aḥmasī was a *mawlā* of the Aḥ-mas.<sup>89</sup> The Kufan jurist (*faqīh*) Qays b. Abī Ḥāzim was also of the Aḥmas,<sup>90</sup>

85 Quoted in Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 3:403. For an entry on Yaḥyā b. Abī Kaṭīr, see al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 31:504–511. He was tortured and flogged and his beard was shaved because he reviled the Umayyad rulers (*umtuḥina wa-ḍuriba wa-ḥuliqa li-kawnihi ntaqaṣa Banī Umayyah*); al-Dahabī, *Taḏkirat al-huffāẓ*, 1:128.

86 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 5:705, with reference to earlier biographical dictionaries of Companions and to Wakī's *Nawādir al-aḥbār* (GAS, 1:376); al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 20:337 (with some variants in the *isnād*).

87 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:299–300.

88 Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Mu'jam al-kabīr*, 20:299–301, 310–312.

89 Al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 3:69–76.

90 Al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 24:10–16; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-'arab* 389.

as was the Kufan Bayān b. Bišr<sup>91</sup> and the Kufan Ṭāriq b. ‘Abd al-Rahmān.<sup>92</sup> The pattern is clear: only fellow Baḡalīs transmitted the report on Ġarīr and Dū l-Ḥalaṣah. Although Ġarīr did not belong to the Aḥmas but to another branch of the Baḡlāh, namely Qasr,<sup>93</sup> this is tribal history *par excellence*. The military power with which Ġarīr set out to demolish Dū l-Ḥalaṣah was made of Aḥmasīs.

Ġarīr came to Muḥammad in Ramaḍān 10/December 631,<sup>94</sup> in other words, news about Dū l-Ḥalaṣah's demolition reached Muḥammad shortly before his death. The demolition and the death of the Ḥaṭ'amīs who defended the sanctuary are in the background of the visit of *wafd* Ḥaṭ'am.<sup>95</sup> During the *riddah* wars Abū Bakr ordered Ġarīr to fight the Ḥaṭ'amīs, who had rebelled because they were angry over Dū l-Ḥalaṣah and wanted to reinstate it.<sup>96</sup>

Dū l-Ḥalaṣah was not just another tribal idol; in fact, it was a cultic center. Ibn Sa'd, under *wafd* Baḡlāh, reports that when Ġarīr came to the Prophet the first time and reported that the tribes had destroyed their idols, the Prophet specifically inquired about Dū l-Ḥalaṣah and found that it remained intact. Ġarīr was sent to destroy it. He took what was on the idol (i.e. jewelry or weapons) and set fire to it.<sup>97</sup> The fact that Dū l-Ḥalaṣah lasted longer than the other idols, or at least most of them, is reflected in the Prophet's alleged statement that of the *ṭawāḡīt* of the Ġāhiliyyah only the *bayt*, or sanctuary, of Dū l-Ḥalaṣah remained.<sup>98</sup>

Dū l-Ḥalaṣah was al-Ka'bah al-Yamāniyyah (the Yemeni Ka'bah), while the Meccan Ka'bah was al-Ka'bah al-Šāmiyyah.<sup>99</sup> Dū l-Ḥalaṣah was probably the site of many idols.<sup>100</sup> Presumably, tribes associated with Dū l-Ḥalaṣah were not associated with the Ka'bah. The Ḥaṭ'am, together with the Ṭayyī' and the Quḍā'ah, did not respect the sanctity of Mecca's *ḥaram* and that of the sacred

91 Al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 4:303–305.

92 Al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 13:345–348.

93 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘arab* 387.

94 Al-Balāḏurī, *Ansāb al-ašraf*, 1:384.

95 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:300.

96 ... *Wa-amarahu an ya'tiya Ḥaṭ'am fa-yuqātila man ḥaraḡa ḡaḍaban li-Dī l-Ḥalaṣah wa-man arāda i'ādahu*; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'riḥ*, 1:1988.

97 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:299.

98 Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muḡam al-kabīr*, 2:312.

99 Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 2:383, s.v. al-Ḥalaṣah.

100 Note the definition of al-Ḥalaṣah as *bayt ašnām*; *ibid.* The word *al-zūn* is supposed to mean a place of this kind. It is interpreted as *mawḏī' tuḡma'u fihi l-ašnām wa-tuṣṣabu*; also: *al-zūn bayt al-ašnām ayy mawḏī' kāna*; Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 3:159, s.v. Zūn. See also Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-‘arab*, the end of s.v. *zūn* (*wa-l-zūn mawḏī' tuḡma'u fihi l-ašnām wa-tuṣṣabu wa-tuzayyanu*).

months, while the other tribes made the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah and respected it.<sup>101</sup> Ṭayyī' and Ḥaṭ'am did not make the pilgrimage to Mecca and were called *al-afḡarāni* (the two sinful tribes).<sup>102</sup>

The Azd al-Sarāt<sup>103</sup> were among the worshippers of Dū l-Ḥalaṣah.<sup>104</sup> The Ḥaṭ'am delegation only came to the Prophet after the demolition of their sanctuary, but some seventy or eighty men from (important?) families (*ahl bayt*) of the Daws (a subdivision of the Azd al-Sarāt), including Abū Hurayrah and 'Abd Allāh b. Uzayhir, had come two years earlier, when the Prophet was in Ḥaybar.<sup>105</sup> The Daws are singled out among the former worshippers of Dū l-Ḥalaṣah as the ones most prone to return to their pagan ways. Abū Hurayrah transmitted the following on the authority of the Prophet: "Before the arrival of the Hour, the buttocks of the women of Daws will move from side to side around Dū l-Ḥalaṣah."<sup>106</sup> In other words, the Ka'bah would remain intact in eschatological times, and the southern tribes would yearn for idolatry and seek to revive the cultic center at Dū l-Ḥalaṣah.

There are probably more conversion reports involving idols. The less successful reports remained with the families and did not make it into the literature. The identification of the informants is often difficult because many of them did not transmit mainstream ("prestigious") *ḥadīṭ*, and hence were not included in the relevant biographical dictionaries. The main focus was entitlement to Companion status. At a later stage, through their inclusion in specialized types of literature, the conversion reports became part of the general Islamic heritage. The most relevant literature is the dictionaries of the Companions and compilations of *dalā'il al-nubuwwah* (proofs of Muḥammad's prophethood), where the former idol worshippers—above all the custodians—bear

101 Kister (1965): 119. When Abū 'Uṭmān al-Nahdī (Quḍā'ah) refers to his pre-Islamic pilgrimages, he has in mind the idol Yağūt, not the Ka'bah; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 35:472 (*aslamtufī ḥayāt rasūli llāh š wa-qad ḥağāğtu bi-Yağūt* [read probably *Yağūtā*] *wa-kāna šanamān min rašāš li-Quḍā'ah timtāla mra'ah wa-dawwurtu l-adwiraḥ*). The listing of the Ḥaṭ'am among the tribes of the *ḥums* is erroneous, while the reading Ġuṣam is correct; Kister (1965): 132.

102 Kister (1965): 134, n. 5. Perhaps this is related to Ḥaṭ'am's participation in Abraham's army which attacked Mecca; Kister (1972): 69–70, 72.

103 On the Sarāt mountains, see "al-Sarāt," in *ET*<sup>2</sup> (A. Grohmann-[E. van Donzel]).

104 Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 35; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-aṣrāf*, 1:384.

105 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:304; Ibn al-Ğawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 3:304.

106 *Lā taqūmu l-sā'ah ḥattā taḡtariba alyāt nisā' Daws ḥawla Dī l-Ḥalaṣah*; Muslim, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, 4:2230 (*Kitāb al-fitan wa-aṣrāt al-sā'ah*). The following eschatological *ḥadīṭ* in this source speaks of a return to the worship of Allāt and al-'Uzzā. For variants on the topic of Dū l-Ḥalaṣah, see Ibn Ḥammād, *al-Fitan* 302 (*iqā' ubidat Dū l-Ḥalaṣah ... kāna zuḥūr al-Rūm 'alā l-Šām*), 364 (Abū Hurayrah: ... *ka-annī bi-alyāt nisā' Daws qadi ṣṭafaqat ya'budūna Dū l-Ḥalaṣah*); Hawting (1999): 124.

witness to the collapse of idolatry. In any case, conversion reports involving idols go back to the very early days of Islam.<sup>107</sup>

## 2 Mecca

### 2.1 Household Idols

Conversion reports of Meccans, in the context of Muḥammad's conquest of his hometown, indicate the existence of a large number of household Meccan idols. Muḥammad is supposed to have purified Mecca of the idolatry, precisely as his ancestor Quṣayy b. Kilāb had done five generations earlier, when he drove out the corrupt Ḥuzā'ah.

Al-Wāqidi's reports about the destruction of household idols in Mecca aim at providing their protagonists with Islamic credentials. However, the background details are reliable. One report (< Sa'īd b. 'Amr al-Ḥudālī) starts with a general statement, followed by a specific example. After the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad's announcer proclaimed that those who believe in Allāh and His messenger should break up every idol (*ṣanam*) in their houses. The Muslims started to break them up. Whenever 'Ikrimah b. Abī Ġahl (of the Maḥzūm branch of Qurayš) heard of an idol in one of the houses of Qurayš, he went there to break it up. The report states that in the Ġāhiliyyah, Abū Tiġrāt used to make and sell them. At this point Sa'īd adds that his informant saw Abū Tiġrāt manufacturing and selling them. Every Qurašī in Mecca had an idol in his house (*wa-lam yakun raġul min Qurayš bi-Makkah illā wa-fi baytihi ṣanam*). According to the next report (< Ġubayr b. Muṭ'im, d. 59/679), the announcer proclaimed that every idol had to be broken up or burnt, and that it was forbidden to sell them, i.e. to be used as firewood. Ġubayr himself saw the idols being carried around Mecca (i.e. by peddlers). The Bedouin (*ahl al-badw*) would buy them and take them to their tents. Every Qurašī had an idol at home. He stroked it when he entered and when he left, so as to draw blessing from it.<sup>108</sup>

107 Cf. Krone (1992): 14: "Kunde über das arabische Heidentum geben uns zahlreiche Werke der Arabischen 'Gelehrten Literatur'. Zwar wurde in den ersten Generationen nach dem Siegeszug des Islam noch bewußt auf eine Beschäftigung mit der Religion der Ġāhiliyya verzichtet, um diese in Vergessenheit geraten zu lassen, doch schon im 2. Jh. der Hiġra erwachte ein lebhaftes Interesse an der Erforschung des altarabischen Heidentums"; Krone assumes a gap of at least one hundred years between the end of idol worship and the beginning of scholarly interest in idols; *ibid.*, 20.

108 See also al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'riḥ*, 2:61 (*wa-nādā munādī rasūli llāh man kāna fi baytihi ṣanam fa-l-yaksirhu fa-kasārū l-aṣnām*). On the magical power of the *maṣḥ* see also Krone (1992): 395; Kohlberg (2003): 150–151.

Al-Wāqidī has another report (< ‘Abd al-Mağīd b. Suhayl) according to which when Hind bt. ‘Utbah embraced Islam, she started striking an idol in her house with an adze (*qadūm*), cutting oblong pieces from it (*fildah fildah*). She kept saying: “We have been deceived by you” (*kunnā minka fī ġurūr*).<sup>109</sup>

The reports about ‘Ikrimah and Hind emphasize the zeal of the new converts. Hind was Abū Sufyān’s wife and Mu‘āwiyah’s mother, hence the Umayyad court promoted her image. A (pseudo-)autobiographical report with a distinctly Umayyad chain of transmitters, including the caliphs ‘Umar II, Marwān I, and Mu‘āwiyah—quoting his mother—elaborates on Hind’s road from idolatry to Islam. The main component of this report is a dream that continued for three nights. On the first night, in pitch darkness, the Prophet appeared to her in a beam of light. On the second night she was on the road, with the idols Hubal and Isāf calling her on both sides and the Prophet in front of her, showing her the right path. On the third night she was on the brink of hell. Hubal called on her to enter, while the Prophet seized her by her clothes from behind. In the morning she went to an idol in her house. As she struck it she said: “You have misled me for a long time!” Then she converted to Islam at the Prophet’s hands and pledged her allegiance to him.<sup>110</sup> All we need from this fictitious report is the background information, which clearly supports the testimony of other reports on the popularity of small wooden household idols in pre-Islamic Mecca.<sup>111</sup>

Some details are available about the Christian (*naṣrānī*) Meccan carpenter Abū Tiğrāt<sup>112</sup> who carved wooden idols. His father’s agnomen was Abū Fukayhah, after his daughter.<sup>113</sup> Abū Tiğrāt was the son-in-law of a member of the Umayyad family, Mu‘āwiyah b. al-Muğīrah b. Abī l-Āṣ; this point was mentioned to the detriment of the Umayyad family in question.<sup>114</sup>

109 Al-Wāqidī, *al-Mağāzī*, 2:870–871. See Guillaume (1964). Abraham circumcised himself using the same tool; Kister (1994): 10–11 (where *qadūm* is rendered as a pick-axe).

110 Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 70:177 (*tāla mā kuntu minka illā fī ġurūr*). See also Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 10:225. Cf. the inferior reading in Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 8:156 (*kunnā ma’aka fī ġurūr*). Hind and ‘Ikrimah’s wife appear at the beginning of the list of Quraṣī women who swore allegiance to Muḥammad after the conquest of Mecca; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 70:179.

111 Fahd wrongly assumed that the idols in question were made of stone and that ‘Ikrimah had manufactured them; Fahd (1968): 26–27, 29–30. Cf. Höfner (1970): 359: “Die Idole als solche waren Steine ...”

112 Wellhausen (1882): 350, has Abū Bağrāt, in error (“Abu Bajrāt machte und verkaufte sie; es wurde mit ihnen ein lebhafter Handel an die Beduinen getrieben”).

113 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 10:234. In another version the carpenter’s father’s name was Aflah; Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:100.

114 *Wa-hum yu’ābūna bi-dālīka*; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-aṣrāf*, 4/i:479.

Al-Wāqidī's report about Abū Tiğrāt is based on an eyewitness account. Following 'Ikrimah's reported destruction of idols, al-Wāqidī says: *wa-kāna Abū Tiğrāt ya'maluhā fī l-ġāhilīyyah wa-yabr'uhā, qāla Sa'd* [read: Sa'īd] *b. 'Amr: aḥbaranī* [add: *abī*, see below] *annahū kāna yarāhu ya'maluhā wa-yabr'uhā. Wa-lam yakun raġul min Qurayṣ bi-Makkah illā wa-fī baytihi ṣanam.* Al-Wāqidī's direct source is 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd [al-Huḍalī] < Sa'īd b. 'Amr.<sup>115</sup> But the *isnād* is incomplete: Sa'īd b. 'Amr's informant, namely his father, is missing. Elsewhere al-Wāqidī quotes from 'Abd Allāh b. Yazīd < Sa'īd b. 'Amr < his father, a report on the worship of Huḍayl's idol, Suwā'. As in the passage discussed here, the father's testimony is an eyewitness account: *ḥaḍartu ma'a riġāl min qawmī ṣanamanā Suwā' ...*<sup>116</sup> Sa'īd also received the report about Abū Tiğrāt from his father, 'Amr.<sup>117</sup>

## 2.2 The Idol Buwānah near Yalamlam (cf. §145)

The reports associating the Prophet Muḥammad with idol worship are of special interest. Two idols are relevant in this context, the famous al-'Uzzā and the lesser-known Buwānah. According to Ibn al-Kalbī, Muḥammad said: "I offered al-'Uzzā a white ewe, while I was still following the religious practices of my people" (*la-qad aḥdaytu li-l-'Uzzā shāt 'afrā' wa-anā 'alā dīn qawmī*).<sup>118</sup> As to the idol Buwānah (Buwānah is sometimes a place name), a report traced back to Ḥassān b. Ṭābit states that when he was tortured in Mecca before the *hiğrah*, Bilāl b. Rabāḥ repudiated Allāt, al-'Uzzā, Hubal, (I)sāf, Nā'ilah, and Buwānah.<sup>119</sup> Buwānah was one of the idols "around Mecca," destroyed, after the conquest of Mecca, by Muslim expedition forces, the others being al-'Uzzā, Manāt, Suwā', and Dū l-Kaffayn.<sup>120</sup> The *ḥanīf* Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl was seen near Buwānah.<sup>121</sup> In one source a report mentioning Buwānah immediately follows a report concerning Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl, which seems to suggest that Buwānah is linked to Zayd's alleged spiritual influence on Muḥammad.<sup>122</sup> The

<sup>115</sup> Al-Wāqidī, *al-Mağāzī*, 2:869–870.

<sup>116</sup> Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:141.

<sup>117</sup> In Abū Nu'aym's biographical dictionary of Companions 'Amr's father is called Sa'īd; Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:639.

<sup>118</sup> Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 19; Kister (1970): 275.

<sup>119</sup> Al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-aṣrāf*, 1:185.

<sup>120</sup> Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *'Uyūn al-aṭar*, 2:243, quoting Ibn Sa'd; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 2:128 (instead of *ḥawla l-Ka'bah*, read: *ḥawla Makkah*). Ibn Sa'd is quoted in Hawting (1999): 121, n. 33.

<sup>121</sup> Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:40, s.v. Ḥuḡayr b. Abī Ihāb al-Tamīmī, quoting al-Fākihī, *Aḥbār Makkah: ra'aytu Zayd b. 'Amr b. Nufayl wa-anā 'inda ṣanam yuqālu lahu Buwānah*.

<sup>122</sup> Cf. Kister (1970); Rubin (1990): 99–102.

Qurayš used to shave their hair at Buwānah, offer it to the idol, and worship the idol each year for one day until nightfall (*kāna bi-Buwānah* [read: *Buwānah*] *šanaman tu‘aẓẓimuhu Qurayš yaḥliqūna ru‘usahum ‘indahu wa-tansuku lahu l-nasā’ik wa-ya’kufūna ‘indahu yawman ilā l-layl wa-ḍālika yawm fī l-sanah*). When Muḥammad, who was reluctant to visit the idol, was finally convinced to do so (i.e. before the mission) he was prevented from approaching it by a mysterious tall man dressed in white.<sup>123</sup> A report about “the Buwānah idol” (*šanam Buwānah*) on the authority of Ġubayr b. Muṭ‘im states that a mysterious voice from within it announced the appearance of the Prophet. This took place one month before Muḥammad’s first revelation.<sup>124</sup>

Beside Qurayš, two other tribes were associated with Buwānah. A member of the ʿAqīf tribe, Kardam b. Sufyān al-ʿAqafī, received Muḥammad’s permission to slaughter ten camels “at Buwānah” (a place name) in fulfillment of a vow. Muḥammad made sure that when Kardam undertook the vow, there was no trace of the Ġāhiliyyah in his heart.<sup>125</sup> In another source Muḥammad is more specific: he only granted his permission after making sure that there was no *waṭan* or *ṭājiyyah* in Buwānah.<sup>126</sup> Yet another version of the same report refers to a slaughter “on Buwānah.”<sup>127</sup> The other tribe associated with Buwānah was Huḍayl. “An idol in Buwānah” appears in the report on ‘Amr al-Huḍalī (the father of Sa‘īd b. ‘Amr) who regrets having missed an opportunity to convert to Islam early on. He heard a mysterious voice from within the idol.<sup>128</sup>

Buwānah was “below [i.e. south of] Mecca, near Yalamlam” (*asfal Makkah dūna Yalamlam*).<sup>129</sup> One assumes that the *mīqāt* of Yalamlam is meant here, not Yalamlam itself (see map). At this point the pilgrims coming from the south enter a state of *iḥrām*.

### 3 Medina (Yaṭrib) (§ 110–117)

There were diverse forms of idol worship in pre-Islamic Medina, a remarkable point considering the substantial influence of the Jewish tribes. There is no reason to assume that the situation was different among sedentary people else-

123 Al-Ḥargūšī, *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*, 1:461–462. Muḥammad’s words later in this report suggest that there was more than one idol at that place: *innī kullamā danawtu min šanam minhā ...*

124 Ibn al-Aṭīr, *al-Kāmil fī l-ta’rīḥ*<sup>1</sup>, 2:47: *kunnā ġulūsan ‘inda šanam Buwānah ...*

125 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 8:75: *innī naḍartu an anḥara ‘ašarat ab’irah lī bi-Buwānah*.

126 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 8:133, s.v. Maymūnah bt. Kardam al-ʿAqafīyyah.

127 Yāqūt, *Muḡam al-buldān*, 1:505: *innī naḍartu an aḍbaḥa ḥamsīna šāt ‘alā Buwānah*.

128 Al-Ḥargūšī, *Šaraf al-muṣṭafā*, 1:210–211. On ‘Amr see above, p. 7.

129 Al-Baḡawī, *Šarḥ al-sunna*, 10:31.

where in Arabia, about whom we know next to nothing. The Islamic literature concentrates, for obvious reasons, on Mecca and Medina.

Wellhausen argued that the Medinans were even more indifferent to their idols than the Meccans. In his view, the Jews and Christians brought monotheism to the Anṣār and prepared them for Islam. Islam spread among the Anṣār very quickly, and even before the Prophet's *hiğrah* almost all the Anṣār were Muslims. Wellhausen suggests that their resistance to the Prophet was political and not religious: they mourned yesterday's freedom, not yesterday's idols.<sup>130</sup>

In fact, most Medinans did not convert to Islam before Muḥammad's *hiğrah*. Moreover, for several years after the *hiğrah* many Medinans remained pagan. Only the downfall of the Jewish Qurayzah, on whom certain Medinans relied politically, economically, and militarily, turned them toward Islam.<sup>131</sup>

In the crucial negotiations which led to the *hiğrah* a significant role was played by Medinans who had acquired literacy in Arabic in the Jewish *Bayt al-Midrās*;<sup>132</sup> though most Medinans were immersed in private and public idol worship. Public idol worship can be associated with levels of the tribal system. It is impossible to measure the intensity of the religious sentiment among the Medinans,<sup>133</sup> and hence one should adhere to the evidence.

### 3.1 Household Idols

The existence of house or family idols has been known for many years, but has not been given its due weight.<sup>134</sup> Median household idols, like those in Mecca,

<sup>130</sup> Wellhausen (1884–1899), 4:15–16. See also Watt (1953): 23 (“... it is generally agreed that the archaic pagan religion was comparatively uninfluential in Muḥammad's time”). On the inhabitants of Yathrib, Wensinck said: “Their receptiveness for monotheism can only be explained by their long contact with the Jews”; Wensinck (1975): 4.

<sup>131</sup> Lecker (1995): 19–49.

<sup>132</sup> Lecker (1997); Lecker (1993): 343.

<sup>133</sup> Goldziher wrote: “At Yathrib the indigenous disposition of immigrant tribes from the south produced a mood more easily accessible to religious thought which was a great help to Muḥammad's success”; Goldziher (1966): 133f. Goldziher had in mind the influence of Yemeni monotheism on the Arabs of Yathrib, who were supposed to have been more religious than other Arabs in central Arabia. Margoliouth (1905): 25 remarks cautiously, without specifically referring to Goldziher: “A great scholar, indeed, from whom it is unsafe to differ, finds a difference between the central and the southern Arabians, and supposes the latter to have been earnest worshippers, while the former were indifferent.” According to Margoliouth, “the Arabs of Central Arabia were not wanting in piety.”

<sup>134</sup> Wellhausen mentions the *Hausgötze*. Lammens (1928): 139 correctly criticizes Wellhausen for conflating the “dieux domestiques” with the idols held by the leaders (on which see below). Lammens (1928): 140 erroneously assumed that the pre-Islamic Arabs knew only about a public cult, such as the one performed by the tribal group (“Inutile ... de parler de culte privé, de dieux lares ou domestiques. L'Arabe de la préhégire n'a jamais entrevu



were made of wood. In Mecca they used to stroke the idols, and in Medina they did the same.<sup>135</sup>

A relatively large number of Medinan conversion reports involves idols, but only a handful of Meccan reports do. We can account for this by the different circumstances of conversion. When Muḥammad conquered Mecca in 8/630, its pagan inhabitants converted, or are supposed to have converted, within a short period. In Medina, by contrast, conversion was a long process accompanied by internal strife. The people of Mecca probably displayed more internal cohesion than the people of Medina, many of whom were prepared to defy the existing tribal system and leadership which were closely associated with the idols.

We know of a wooden idol that became an obstacle for Abū Ṭalḥah of the Nağğār (Hazrağ) when he proposed to a Nağğārī woman, Umm Sulaym bt. Miḥān (Anas b. Mālik's mother). Abū Ṭalḥah wanted to marry her after the death of Anas's father, but she refused because he was a polytheist (*mušrik*). She reproached him for worshipping a stone and a piece of wood hewed for him by a carpenter (*ḥaṣabah ta'tī bihā l-nağğār fa-yanğuruhā laka*). He agreed to embrace Islam and she accepted his conversion as dowry.<sup>136</sup>

Among the Nağğār subdivision called Ġanm b. Mālik b. al-Nağğār there was a man called 'Amr b. Qays known as *ṣāḥib ālihatihim fī l-ğāhiliyyah* (the person in charge of their idols in the Ġāhiliyyah). He was once expelled from the Prophet's mosque, together with other *munāfiqūn* (hypocrites). While he was being expelled, he complained about his forcible removal from the *mirbad* (the drying floor for dates) of the Banū Ṭa'labah.<sup>137</sup> Since he was of the Ġanm b.

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que la culte public, celui pratiqué par le clan, dont les rares manifestations suffisaient à épuiser sa courte dévotion").

135 This is shown by the report on Ka'b b. 'Uğrah: *Ista'ḥara islām Ka'b b. 'Uğrah wa-kāna lahu ṣanam yukrimuhu wa-yamsaḥuhu ...*; al-Ḍahabī, *Sīyar a'lām al-nubalā*, 3:53 (quoting al-Wāqidī); Lecker (1993): 340–341.

136 The report is autobiographical; it is reported on the authority of Ishāq b. 'Abd Allāh b. Abī Ṭalḥah (d. 132/749–750 or 134/751–752), who quotes his grandmother, Umm Sulaym; Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 10:396. Abū Ṭalḥah was of the Mağālah, namely the 'Adī b. 'Amr b. Mālik b. al-Nağğār; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Istibṣār* 49–50. Umm Sulaym belonged to the Ḥarām b. Ġundab b. 'Āmir b. Ġanm b. 'Adī b. al-Nağğār; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Istibṣār* 36–40. See an entry on Ishāq in al-Mizzī, *Tahḏīb al-kamāl*, 2:444–446. Other reports (Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 10:397) refer to a wooden idol hewed by a slave who was a carpenter, and to an Ethiopian slave: *yanḥutuhā 'abd āl fulān al-nağğār ... law aš'altum fihā nāran la-ḥtaraqat ... ṣağarah tanbutu minā l-arḍ wa-innamā nağarahā ḥabaṣī banī fulān*. In itself the verb *naḥata* is indifferent to the material used, but when it is linked to wood it is synonymous with *nağara*; Lane (1863–1893), s.v. *naḥata*.

137 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 2:175; Lecker (1993): 335. The identification put forward in Lecker (1993): 335 n. 25, is uncertain.

Mālik b. al-Nağğār, the Ṭa'labah in question are the Ṭa'labah b. Ġanm b. Mālik b. al-Nağğār.<sup>138</sup>

In connection with the Medinan idols we encounter the verb *laṭṭaḥa*, meaning to defile, or soil. The source of what follows is supposed to be 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib. During a funeral (of a Muslim, outside Medina), Muḥammad looked for a volunteer to break up every idol (*waṭan*) in Medina, level every tomb, and defile or besmear with slime every statue or figure (*ṣūrah*). An unidentified volunteer returned, but had not carried out the order, since he feared the people of Medina, so 'Alī stepped in.<sup>139</sup> A variant of this report states that the Prophet ordered an Anṣārī to level every tomb and defile (*yulaṭṭiḥa*) every idol. The man refused to enter the houses of his people (*buyūt qawmī*), hence 'Alī was sent for.<sup>140</sup> Regardless of its historical value, the report takes for granted a predominance of idol worship.

In the Ġāhiliyyah As'ad b. Zurārah (Nağğār) and Abū l-Hayṭam b. al-Tayyihān (a member of the Balī tribe who was a client of the 'Abd al-Aṣḥal or the Za'ūrā') hated the idols and were disgusted by them; both men were monotheists.<sup>141</sup> The former was also involved in the actual destruction of idols (see below).

There are several reports about young Medinans who received Muḥammad enthusiastically and broke or smashed (*kasara/kassara*) the idols of their tribal groups. The idols were found among both the Aws and Ḥazrağ, more specifically the 'Abd al-Aṣḥal, Ḥārīṭah, 'Amr b. 'Awf, Ḥaṭmah, and Wāqif of the Aws, and the Salimah, Bayāḍah, Sā'idah, Mālik b. al-Nağğār, and 'Adī b. al-Nağğār of the Ḥazrağ. The evidence regarding idol worship among the Salimah is relatively abundant; this was likely not because idolatry was more widespread among them, but because they were more numerous than the other subdivisions, or the Prophet had more supporters among them.

Idols are dominant in Medinan conversion reports. Let us begin with the Ḥazrağ. Ziyād b. Labīd and Farwah b. 'Amr of the Bayāḍah broke the idols of the Bayāḍah.<sup>142</sup> Sa'd b. 'Ubādah, al-Munḍir b. 'Amr, and Abū Duğānah of the Sā'idah broke the idols of the Sā'idah.<sup>143</sup> 'Umārah b. Ḥazm, As'ad b. Zurārah, and 'Awf b. 'Afrā' of the Mālik b. al-Nağğār broke the idols of the Mālik b. al-

138 Cf. Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Istibṣār* 56–64, especially 63–64 (on the two orphans who owned the *mīrbad* on which the Prophet's mosque was built).

139 Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:87; al-Hayṭamī, *Mağma' al-zawā'id*, 5:172. Both texts are garbled. Ibn Manẓūr, *Lisān al-'arab*, s.v. *ṭalaḥa*, has instead of *laṭṭaḥa*: *ṭalaḥa*, or to besmear with slime.

140 Ibn Ḥanbal, *al-Musnad*, 1:139; al-Hayṭamī, *Mağma' al-zawā'id*, 5:172–173.

141 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:412; al-Ḍahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 1:190; Lecker (1993): 336.

142 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:553.

143 Ibn Sa'd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:567.

Nağğār.<sup>144</sup> Salīṭ b. Qays and Abū Şirmah of the ‘Adī b. al-Nağğār broke the idols of the ‘Adī b. al-Nağğār.<sup>145</sup> Perhaps there is confusion between Abū Şirmah and Abū Qays Şirmah b. Abī Anas, who embraced Islam at an advanced age after having rejected idol worship in the Ġāhiliyyah.<sup>146</sup>

Among the Aws, Sa’d b. Mu‘ād and Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr of the ‘Abd al-Aşhal broke the idols of the ‘Abd al-Aşhal.<sup>147</sup> Usayd belonged to ‘Abd al-Aşhal’s leading family: his father, Ḥuḍayr, was the *raʿīs* (the battlefield commander) of the Aws in the Battle of Bu‘āṭ. Ḥuḍayr was known, as was his son Usayd, as *al-kāmīl* (“the highly accomplished one”), since they were both literate and excelled in swimming and archery.<sup>148</sup> Abū ‘Abs b. Ġabr of the Ḥārīṭah and Abū Burdah b. Niyār, a client of the Ḥārīṭah from the Balī tribe, broke the idols of the Ḥārīṭah.<sup>149</sup> An alternative pedigree of Abū ‘Abs adds the name Mağda‘ah before the eponym Ḥārīṭah.<sup>150</sup> This makes him a member of the Mağda‘ah, whose most famous member was Muḥammad b. Maslamah. Abū ‘Abs’s mother and two of the three women to whom he was married at different times were of the Mağda‘ah: one of the women was Muḥammad b. Maslamah’s sister, while the other was Muḥammad b. Maslamah’s daughter.<sup>151</sup> Muḥammad b. Maslamah was a client (*ḥalīf*) of the ‘Abd al-Aşhal;<sup>152</sup> and one assumes that Abū ‘Abs was not a prominent figure in Medinan society before the advent of Islam. The same applies to Abū Burdah who was a client.

‘Abd Allāh b. Ġubayr and Sahl b. Ḥunayf used to break up idols and bring the pieces to the Muslims to use as firewood.<sup>153</sup> The two belonged to different

144 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:451.

145 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:474. According to some, Abū Şirmah was of the Māzin b. al-Nağğār, not of the ‘Adī; al-Mizzī, *Tahḍīb al-kamāl*, 33:426; Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istīʿāb*, 4:1691 (the Māzinī version regarding his origin was more widespread).

146 Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿarab* 350 (*rafaḍa l-awṭān*); Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-naba-wiyyah*, 2:156 (*wa-fāraqa l-awṭān*); al-Masʿūdī, *Murūğ al-dahab*, 1:81 (*wa-ḥağara l-awṭān*); Rubin (1990): 98. Note that the sources quoted by Rubin do not refer to him as a *ḥanīf*. The source of Ibn Ishāq’s report, which is missing in Ibn Hišām, is mentioned elsewhere: Muḥammad b. Ġaʿfar b. al-Zubayr b. al-ʿAwwām; Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Işābah*<sup>2</sup>, 3:422. Muḥammad’s source may have been ‘Abd al-Raḥmān b. ʿUwaym b. Sāʿidah from whom Muḥammad quoted another report regarding Şirmah; Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Işābah*<sup>2</sup>, 3:423. On Muḥammad see al-Mizzī, *Tahḍīb al-kamāl*, 24:579–580.

147 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:389.

148 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:558–559; Lecker (1997): 268, n. 64.

149 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:415.

150 Ibn Ḥağar, *al-Işābah*<sup>2</sup>, 7:266.

151 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:415.

152 Ibn Qudāmāh, *al-Istibşār* 242.

153 Al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-aşraf*, 1:265; Lecker (1993): 333.

subdivisions of the ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, namely the Ṭa‘labah and the Ḥanaš, respectively,<sup>154</sup> and the idols in question were those of the ‘Amr b. ‘Awf. Ḥuzaymah b. Ṭābit and ‘Umayr b. ‘Adī b. Ḥarašah of the Ḥaṭmah broke the idols of the Ḥaṭmah.<sup>155</sup> Hilāl b. Umayyah of the Wāqif broke the idols of the Wāqif.<sup>156</sup>

As we have seen, Abū Ṭalḥah’s idol was made of wood; this is also clear with regard to the broken pieces used as firewood. In the case of another household idol wood is specifically mentioned. ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawḥah rebuked its owner (who was perhaps Abū l-Dardā, see below) for worshipping a piece of wood that he had crafted with his own hand. The owner replied that he had not attacked it because he feared for his young children.<sup>157</sup> In other words, the wooden household idol was perceived as tutelary.

Before ‘Abd Allāh b. Rawḥah destroyed Abū l-Dardā’s idol using an adze (*qadūm*), he brought it down (*fa-anzalahu*). This probably indicates that the idol was located in an elevated place, such as a shelf. It is also reported that Abū l-Dardā hung a veil over his idol (*wa-qad waḍa‘a ‘alayhi mindīlan*).<sup>158</sup> In order to act against a household idol one had to enter the house.<sup>159</sup> These characteristics were perhaps shared by household idols elsewhere in Arabia.

Among the twenty-odd persons who reportedly destroyed idols, only three can be considered prominent members of society, namely Mu‘āḍ b. ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ, who belonged to a leading family of the Salimah (Ḥazraġ), Sa’d b. ‘Ubādah of the Sā‘idah (Ḥazraġ), and the “highly accomplished man” Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr of the ‘Abd al-Ašhal (Aws). There is a certain correlation between the idol breakers and those who were literate before Islam: at least five of the idol breakers, namely Sa’d b. ‘Ubādah, al-Mundir b. ‘Amr, Mu‘āḍ b. Ġabal, Usayd b. al-Ḥuḍayr, and Abū ‘Abs b. Ġabr were literate; this means they were educated in *Bayt al-Midrās*.<sup>160</sup> However, typical idol breakers belonged to the rank-and-file of their tribal groups, and two of them were clients.

We do not have documentary or archival evidence on the idol breakers. But it is no accident that so many of them are found in Ibn Sa’d’s third volume, which includes the biographies of those who fought in the Battle of Badr. More precisely, they are in the latter part of the volume, which is dedicated to the

154 Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Istibṣār* 320–323.

155 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 5:297.

156 Al-Nawawī, *Tahḍīb al-asmā’*, 2:139; Ibn al-Aṭīr, *Uṣd al-ġābah*, 5:380–381.

157 Lecker (1993): 338.

158 Lecker (1993): 340.

159 Hence the above mentioned reluctance of the Anṣārī to enter the houses of his people (*buyūt qawmī*).

160 Lecker (1997): 267–271.

Badrīs among the Anṣār. All of those involved were unmistakably among the earliest and most enthusiastic supporters of Muḥammad in Medina.

### 3.2 *Idols of Noblemen*

Al-Maqrīzī quotes (§ 110–117) several rare reports on idol worship in Medina from Ibn Šabbah's *Aḥbār Makkah*. He says every nobleman (*rağul šarīf*) had an idol (§ 111). However, specific details are only given on three of them. 'Amr b. al-Ğamūḥ had Manāf, al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr had al-Dibāğ, and al-Ğadd b. Qays had Zabīr. All three belonged to the Salimah. Another characteristic of a nobleman was probably ownership of a tower house, since at least two of the above-mentioned noblemen owned a tower house.<sup>161</sup> There is no reason to assume that this type of idol was restricted to the Salimah. The fact that the three men belonged to leading families is also shown by Muḥammad's intervention on the issue of the leadership of the Salimah. According to one version, he replaced their *sayyid*, al-Ğadd b. Qays, with 'Amr b. al-Ğamūḥ; according to another version, he replaced al-Ğadd with al-Barā' b. Ma'rūr's son, Bišr.<sup>162</sup> Al-Ğadd<sup>163</sup> and al-Barā' belonged to the 'Ubayd subdivision of the Salimah, while 'Amr b. al-Ğamūḥ belonged to the Ḥarām subdivision.

The report on the shift of leadership from al-Ğadd to 'Amr creates the false impression that it was associated with idols. Al-Ğadd was deposed and replaced by 'Amr because of the former's stinginess, while 'Amr "was in charge of their idols in the Ğāhiliyyah and used to hold a feast for the Messenger of God whenever he [the latter] got married" (*kāna 'alā aṣnāmihim fī l-ğāhiliyyah wa-kāna yūlimu 'alā rasūli llāh š idhā tazawwağ*). The *isnād* goes back to Abū l-Zubayr < Ğābir b. 'Abd Allāh.<sup>164</sup> Ğābir was 'Amr's second cousin.<sup>165</sup> But idols are not related to stinginess, and the correct reading is *'alā aḍyāfihim* ("he was responsible for their guests in the Ğāhiliyyah").<sup>166</sup>

161 Lecker (1993): 336–338. In Abū Nu'aym, *Dalā'il al-nubuwwah* 310–312, read Manāf instead of Manāt (it was no doubt masculine); Ibn al-Ğawzī, *Šifat al-ṣafwah*, 1:643–644; al-Dahabī, *Siyar a'lām al-nubalā'*, 1:253. Read Manāf instead of Manāt in Krone (1992): 537.

162 See e.g. Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, 1:460–461; Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 12:413. Ibn Ishāq and Ma'mar, on the authority of al-Zuhri, reported that al-Ğadd was replaced by Bišr. As we shall see, the version that mentions al-Ğadd's replacement by 'Amr goes back to Ğābir b. 'Abd Allāh.

163 Al-Wāqidi, *al-Mağāzī*, 1:169.

164 Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī'āb*, 3:1170–1171. See the entry on Abū l-Zubayr al-Makkī, Muḥammad b. Muslim (d. 126/743–744 or 128/745–746), in al-Mizzī, *Tahdīb al-kamāl*, 26:402–411.

165 Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Istibṣār* 151–154.

166 Al-Bayhaqī, *Šu'ab al-īmān*, 7:431.

There are conflicting claims regarding ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ’s conversion. According to ‘Urwah b. al-Zubayr, Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr (from the Quraṣī clan ‘Abd al-Dār) settled before the *hiḡrah* among the Ġanm b. Mālik b. al-Naġġār, with As‘ad b. Zurārah. Sometime after the conversion of the ‘Abd al-Aṣhal, the Naġġār drove Muṣ‘ab out and harassed (*wa-štaddū ‘alā*) their fellow tribesman As‘ad. Muṣ‘ab moved to Sa‘d b. Mu‘āḍ of the ‘Abd al-Aṣhal, where he continued his missionary work. Finally, in every court (*dār*) of the Anṣār there were Muslim men and women. Their noblemen, including ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ, embraced Islam. Their idols were broken and the Muslims became the strongest people in Medina.<sup>167</sup> Muṣ‘ab’s expulsion from the court of the Naġġār and his shift to Sa‘d b. Mu‘āḍ—both seem to be historical facts—were left out of the *sīrah*, probably because they were embarrassing for the Naġġār. The conversion of the noblemen, particularly that of ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ who is the only one specified, and the breaking of the idols at this early stage (even before the second or major ‘Aqabah meeting), are an invention. It is clear that ‘Urwah’s report is favorable to ‘Amr.<sup>168</sup> According to Ibn Ishāq, ‘Amr’s conversion took place shortly after the major ‘Aqabah meeting, following the repeated humiliation of his wooden idol, Manāf, at the hands of his son, Mu‘āḍ b. ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ, who cooperated with Mu‘āḍ b. Ġabal and other young men of the Salimah.<sup>169</sup> The source of Ibn Ishāq’s report is missing in Ibn Hišām. ‘Āsim b. ‘Umar b.

167 Al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muḡam al-kabīr*, 20:362–364; al-Hayṭamī, *Maġma‘ al-zawā‘id*, 6:40–42; Abū Nu‘aym, *Ḥilyat al-awliyā’*, 1:106–107. Al-Wāqidī’s combined report in Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:109–110, does not mention Muṣ‘ab’s shift from the Naġġār to the ‘Abd al-Aṣhal. It was probably omitted by al-Wāqidī while he was creating the combined report. However, in the entry on Sa‘d b. Mu‘āḍ in Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:389, it is reported that he moved Muṣ‘ab and As‘ad to his court—Sa‘d and As‘ad were maternal cousins. The source of this report is Sa‘d’s grandson, Wāqid b. ‘Amr.

168 Also ‘Ikrimah associated ‘Amr’s conversion with Muṣ‘ab b. ‘Umayr; al-Ḍahabī, *Sīyar a‘lām al-nubalā’*, 1:253 (quoting ‘Ikrimah). Initially, ‘Amr apologized to Muṣ‘ab, arguing that he had to consult his fellow tribesmen whose *sayyid* he was: *inna lanā mu‘āmarah fī qawminā, wa-kāna sayyid banī Salimah*. But soon afterwards the humiliation of his idol made him realize how weak and defenseless it was. Some themes of the humiliation are known from Ibn Ishāq’s report on ‘Amr’s conversion.

169 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 2:95–96 (erroneously printed Manāt). ‘Amr was one of the *sayyids* of the Salimah and one of their noblemen (*sayyidan min sādāt banī Salimah wa-ṣarīfan min aṣrāfihim*). In his house he had a wooden idol, as was common among noblemen. They would take for themselves an idol, honor, and purify (i.e. consecrate) it (*kamā kānat al-aṣrāf yaṣna‘ūna, tattaḥiduhu ilāhan tu‘azzimuhu wa-tuṭahhiruhu*). The report on Mu‘āḍ’s idol in al-Maqdisī, *al-Baḍ‘ wa-l-ta’rīḥ*, 5:117–118, is erroneous: Mu‘āḍ should be replaced by Abū l-Dardā; Lecker (1993): 339–340. On Mu‘āḍ b. Ġabal, see van Ess (2001).

Qatādah, who is often quoted by Ibn Ishāq, stated that ‘Amr’s conversion was delayed (*ta’ahhara*).<sup>170</sup> Moreover, according to Ibn al-Kalbī, ‘Amr was the last Anṣārī to embrace Islam.<sup>171</sup>

Mu‘ād b. Ġabal also figures in another report concerning idols. Mu‘ād, Ta‘labah b. ‘Anamah al-Salamī (of the Sawād subdivision of Salimah), and ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays al-Ġuhanī, having converted to Islam, broke the idols of the Salimah.<sup>172</sup> Only Ta‘labah was a full member of the Salimah. Mu‘ād b. Ġabal was a descendant of Udayy b. Sa’d, the brother of Salimah b. Sa’d. ‘Abd Allāh b. Unays al-Ġuhanī was a client (*ḥalīf*) of the Salimah.

The idols of noblemen had names, and hence belonged to a category higher than that of household idols. Perhaps the noblemen’s idols were larger or more richly decorated than the household ones.<sup>173</sup> They were probably anthropoid: the young attackers of ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ’s idol threw it on its head, and at some stage ‘Amr hung a sword on it and demanded that it defend itself.<sup>174</sup> ‘Amr’s idol was in a sanctuary (*bayt*) of its own;<sup>175</sup> this is probably true of the idols of noblemen in general. Regarding ‘Amr’s idol, we are told that whenever people wanted to talk to it (i.e. consult it), an old woman would stand behind it and answer on its behalf.<sup>176</sup>

The Medinan idols discussed below were associated with the tribal system and belong to the public sphere, as opposed to the private realm discussed above.

### 3.3 *Idols of baṭns*

One level above the nobleman’s idol we find the *baṭn*’s idol which had a name (§ 110). Among the *baṭns* mentioned as owners of idols were the subdivisions of the Nabī branch (Aws), i.e. ‘Abd al-Aṣḥal, Ḥārīṭah, and Ṣafar; the Salimah; and

170 See the paraphrased fragment quoted in al-Dahabī, *Ṣiyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, 1:253–254. A report on ‘Amr’s burial is quoted by Ibn Ishāq from his father < *aṣyāḥ* of the Salimah; Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 3:104.

171 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:615.

172 Ibn Sa’d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 3:537, 540; Ibn Qudāmah, *al-Istīṣār* 136–137, 165, 166; Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-Iṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 4:15–16 (‘Abd Allāh b. Unays). The reports on these three breaking up the idols do not mention Mu‘ād b. ‘Amr b. al-Ġamūḥ.

173 In general, the decoration of idols seems to be suggested by the saying *aḥsan mina l-dumyah wa-mīna l-zūn wa-humā l-ṣanam*; al-Maydānī, *Maḡma’ al-amṭāl*, 1:227.

174 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 2:95–96.

175 *Daḡalū bayt ṣanamihī*; al-Dahabī, *Ṣiyar a’lām al-nubalā’*, 1:254. This is also suggested by the expression *wa-daḡala ‘alā Manāf*; *ibid.*, 1:253.

176 *Fa-aḡābat ‘anhū*; Abū Nu‘aym, *Dalā’il al-nubuwwah* 311 (read Manāf instead of Manāt); Lecker (1993): 337.

three subdivisions of the Nağğār, namely ‘Adī b. al-Nağğār, Dīnār b. al-Nağğār, and Mālik b. al-Nağğār (Ḥazrağ). Other *baṭns* in Medina are not listed as owners of idols, because the information is incomplete. The *baṭn*’s idol was placed in a sanctuary (*bayt*) and belonged to the whole *baṭn* (*li-ğamā‘at al-baṭn*). Sacrifices were offered to it.<sup>177</sup> Under Islam sanctuaries may have been converted into mosques. An association between *baṭns* and worship was found in Kufa, where there were mosques belonging to *baṭns* of the Kindah.<sup>178</sup>

### 3.4 *The Ḥārīt b. al-Ḥazrağ and Huzzam*

One level above the *baṭns* in the tribal system we find the branches or major subdivisions of the Aws and Ḥazrağ. At present, we know of only one idol of this category, namely Huzzam, the idol of the Ḥārīt b. al-Ḥazrağ. It was placed in their *mağlis* (place of assembly), which carried the same name and was located in wadi Buṭḥān (§ 116). We can speculate that the other branches of the Aws and Ḥazrağ had similar idols.<sup>179</sup> There is no mention of sacrifices, but since sacrifices were offered to the idols of the *baṭns*, we would expect to find them here as well.

### 3.5 *The Ḥazrağ and al-Ḥamīs (§ 141)*

The Ḥazrağ as a whole, together with the Sulaym tribe, worshipped an idol called al-Ḥamīs. Al-Ḥamīs appears in a verse attributed to the Prophet’s grandfather, ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib, who swore by it.<sup>180</sup>

### 3.6 *Al-Sa‘idah on Mount Uḥud (cf. § 206)*

The idol al-Sa‘idah on Mount Uḥud was worshipped by the Azd—the Aws and Ḥazrağ belonged to the Azd, and hence must have been among its worshippers—and by the whole of the Quḍā‘ah (the Sa‘d Ḥuḍaym are mentioned specifically), with the exception of the Banū Wabarah. Al-Sa‘idah had custodi-

177 Regarding the association of *baṭns* to idols cf. Abbās (n.d.): 12: *wa-kānat awṭān al-‘arab id ḡāka musnadah ilā l-Ka‘bah ṭalāṭamī‘ah wa-sittīna waṭanan, li-kull ḥayy min al-‘arab waṭan, wa-kāna yakūnu fi l-ḥayy al-buṭūn al-kaṭīrah min al-‘arab, fa-kāna li-kull baṭn minḥa waṭan.*

178 Lecker (1994): 344–345.

179 Cf. the expression *mağālis al-anṣār*; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 41:56.

180 *Abliğ banī l-Nağğāri in ġi‘tahum ... anniya minhum wa-bnuhum wa-l-Ḥamīs*; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta‘rīḥ*, 1:1085; al-Balāḍurī, *Ansāb al-ašrāf*, 1:70; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq* 85. Cf. al-Ṭabarī, *History*, 6:12: “The meaning of *wa-l-khamīs* is somewhat obscure.” Elsewhere the verse is attributed to al-Muṭṭalib b. ‘Abd Manāf; Ibn Sa‘d, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:63–64; Lecker (1989): 99 (a reference to the possibility that here “Ḥazrağ” means both the Ḥazrağ and the Aws; Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 14; al-Fākihī, *Aḥbār Makkah*, 4:236).



ans and a *talbiyah* of its own.<sup>181</sup> The custodians were the Banū l-‘Aġlān,<sup>182</sup> who were the clients of the ‘Amr b. ‘Awf, more precisely the Banū Zayd b. Mālik b. ‘Awf b. ‘Amr b. ‘Awf.<sup>183</sup>

### 3.7 *Manāt in or near Qudayd (§176, 182)*

After al-Ḥamīs, worshipped by the Ḥazraġ, and al-Sa‘īdah, presumably worshipped by both the Aws and Ḥazraġ, we arrive at the most significant idol of the two tribes, namely Manāt<sup>184</sup> which also had custodians and a *talbiyah* of its own. It was located in al-Mušallal near Qudayd (see map)<sup>185</sup> or, according to some, it was a rock in Qudayd belonging to the Huḍayl. Others argued that it belonged to the Huḍayl and the Ḥuzā‘ah. Perhaps Huḍayl and Ḥuzā‘ah had worshipped Manāt at an earlier stage, before the arrival of the Azd. In any case, in the immediate pre-Islamic period Manāt was worshipped, among other Azdīs, by the Aws and Ḥazraġ. Its worshippers included the Azd Šanū‘ah and other Azdīs, among them the groups of Ġassān.<sup>186</sup> Again, the Sa‘d Huḍaym of the Quḍā‘ah are mentioned specifically. At the end of the pilgrimage to Mecca the Aws and Ḥazraġ would not shave their hair with the other pilgrims, but would stay near Manāt (*wa-aqāmū ‘indahū*) and shave their hair there. They believed that the pilgrimage was not complete without doing this. Reportedly, the Qurayš and all the other Arabs also worshipped Manāt. Its custodians were the Ġaṭārīf from the Azd.<sup>187</sup> The Ġaṭārīf were the family (*āl*) of al-Ḥārīt b.

181 Kister (1980a): 52 (read Sa‘īda instead of Sa‘īd). In the *talbiyah* the pilgrims declared that they did not come to the idol for (material) benefit nor for gain; cf. Tritton (1959): 194. The Quḍā‘ah and some tribes of the Azd were among the *ḥillah* tribes that did not engage in trade during the pilgrimage; al-Ya‘qūbī, *Ta‘rīḥ*, 1:257. When they were on pilgrimage, they only bought meat; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 181. According to Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 179, the *ḥillah* included the Quḍā‘ah (with the exception of ‘Ilāf and Ġanāb) and the Anšār. Wellhausen (1897): 65, argued, following a verse in Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 4:116, s.v. al-‘Uzzā, that al-Sa‘īdah was originally a nickname of al-‘Uzzā. See also Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām*, 19. Another idol with the same name was located near Sindād, or on the nearby bank of the Euphrates; Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 3:222, s.v. al-Sa‘īdah.

182 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 316–317; Kister (1980a): 56.

183 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Nasab Ma‘add*, 2:711–712, lists six members of the ‘Aġlān who were Muḥammad’s Companions; Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘arab* 443; Lecker (1995): 135–137, and index. Serjeant (1989): 143, n. 49 identified ‘Aġlān with “‘Ajlān b. ‘Abdullāh of Rabī‘a” (he refers to Ibn Durayd, *al-İstiḳāq* 296; read: 297); but this is impossible. Besides, Ibn Durayd refers to the Qays ‘Aylān, not to the Rabī‘ah.

184 Krone (1992): 521–539.

185 King (2002): 94 locates Qudayd about 15 kilometers from Medina (!). He also locates Ruhāt near Yanbu‘; *ibid.*, 93, 95.

186 Lecker (2005a): 34.

187 Yāqūt, *Mu‘jam al-buldān*, 5:205, s.v. Manāt; Ibn al-Kalbī, *al-Aṣnām* 13–15; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-*

‘Ubayd Allāh b. ‘Āmir al-Ġiṭrīf,<sup>188</sup> or Banū l-Ĥārīṭ b. ‘Abd Allāh b. Yaškur b. Mubaššir from the Azd. Their land was at the southernmost part of the Sarāt mountains, in an area called al-Ḥazz. The Ġaṭārīf conquered al-Ḥazz from the Amalekites, hence the name al-Ġaṭārīf, meaning “the noble ones.”<sup>189</sup> The custodians may have been a family of the Ġaṭārīf that emigrated to northern Arabia.

A report on the authority of ‘Abd al-Malik b. ‘Abd al-‘Azīz b. Sa‘īd b. Sa‘d b. ‘Ubādah (a great-grandson of Sa‘d b. ‘Ubādah) praises his fathers. Sa‘d’s grandfather, Dulaym, used to donate ten camels to be sacrificed to Manāt every year. Sa‘d’s father, ‘Ubādah, followed suit and Sa‘d himself did the same before his conversion to Islam. Sa‘d’s son, Qays, used to donate the same number of camels to the Ka‘bah.<sup>190</sup> Idol worship is at the background of this report, which is about generosity and leadership. Obviously, the cult of Manāt continued to the very advent of Islam.

Manāt concludes the discussion of the idols worshipped by the people of Medina. The Aws or Ḥazraġ had household idols; idols of noblemen were probably more impressive than household idols; the *baṭn* as a whole had an idol in a sanctuary. A branch of the Ḥazraġ had an idol in its *maġlis*; the Ḥazraġ as a whole worshipped an idol; both the Aws and Ḥazraġ worshipped al-Sa‘īdah on Mount Uḥud; and finally, the Aws and Ḥazraġ concluded their Meccan pilgrimage at their main idol, Manāt. None of this indicates that idol worship was in decline on the eve of Islam. Ibn Ishāq’s opinion about the influence of monotheism on the Arabs on the eve of Islam was that “it was merely superficial; the Arabs were illiterate, and what they heard from Jews and Christians had no effect on their lives.” Guillaume, who adduced this statement, was surprised:

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*Muḥabbar* 316. Wellhausen (1897): 28 argued that the two pilgrimages are incorrectly conflated here, one to Mecca and another to Manāt. Krone (1992): 537 said that the pilgrimage to Manāt could have been combined with the Meccan pilgrimage. On the sacrifice of hair cf. Krone (1992): 415–418. Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maġāzī*, 2:870, reports that Sa‘d b. Zayd al-Aṣḥalī was sent by Muḥammad to demolish Manāt in Muṣallal. The “Bakr” mentioned in the *tal-biyah* of Manāt’s worshippers and/or in that of the Qays ‘Aylān were not the Bakr b. Wā’il but the Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kinānah, on whom see Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-‘arab* 180–182; cf. Kister (1980a): 45. The Bakr b. ‘Abd Manāt b. Kinānah were among the *ḥillah* tribes; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 179. This would explain the threat they posed to pilgrims heading to Mecca. See also Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḥabbar* 318; Kister (1980a): 57 (Hubal belonged to the Bakr, Mālik, and Mīlkān, and the rest of the Kinānah).

188 Ḥassān, *Dīwān*, 2:263 (on the affair of Abū Uzayhir).

189 Yāqūt, *Muġam al-buldān*, 2:252, s.v. al-Ḥazz.

190 Ibn ‘Abd al-Barr, *al-Istī‘āb*, 2:595; Ibn ‘Asākir, *Dimašq*, 49:416–417.

It must be remembered that he was talking about Western Arabia, and one would have thought that the influence of the synagogue or synagogues in Medina and its suburbs would have been considerable, especially when one bears in mind the close agreement between the Koran and the Talmud in teaching and terminology.<sup>191</sup>

Ibn Ishāq's description of the situation in Medina on the eve of the *hiğrah* is accurate.<sup>192</sup>

The power of idol worship in Arabia must not be underestimated. The evidence adduced above shows that idol worship flourished in Mecca, in Medina, and elsewhere. For ten frustrating years Muḥammad attempted to convert his fellow Meccans to Islam. Mecca's prosperity was based on the pilgrimage to Mecca and the fairs around. But the Meccans' rejection of Muḥammad was motivated by more than just concern about the economy. While we cannot gauge the intensity of their religious sentiment and their attachment to idols, clearly idols played a major role in their lives. The reports about the demolition of idols often provide medieval Muslim writers with an opportunity to ridicule the pagans and their cult, but the shock and fear attributed to the pagans reflect their belief in the power of their idols.

#### 4 Idols and Treasuries

Finally, in what follows the treasures of several idols are discussed in order to understand their social and economic role.

191 Guillaume (1960): 6–7. See also *ibid.*, 21: “The Arabs were illiterate. They did not study writing. All that they knew of heaven and hell, the resurrection, the mission of prophets and so on was the little they had heard from Jews and Christians. This teaching had no effect on their lives.” In Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 1:225 (< ‘Aṣim b. ‘Umar b. Qatādah), the Arabic text is as follows: *inna mimma da‘ānā ilā l-islām ma‘a raḥmati llāh wa-hudāhu lanā la-mā kunnā nasma‘u min riğāl yahūd, wa-kunnā ahl širk aṣḥāb awṭān wa-kānū ahl kitāb, ‘indahum ‘ilm laysa lanā ...*

192 Serjeant, in his review of Guillaume's *New Light on the Life of Muhammad*, in *BSOAS* 26 (1963): 427–428, remarked with regard to Ibn Ishāq's statement on the superficial influence of monotheism, that it “strikes the reviewer as very likely to be near the truth, and the existence of synagogues in ancient west Arabia is no more likely to have influenced the religious attitudes of tribesfolk than those in the Yemen (which were numerous enough until some twelve years ago) influenced the dominant Muslim population's outlook though relations were in other ways very close.”

#### 4.1 *The Treasury of the Ka'bah: A Community Fund*

The Ka'bah was a *bayt* (sanctuary), in fact, the Arabian sanctuary *par excellence*, according to the Islamic/Quraṣī claim. *Bayt* is the common Arabic term describing a sanctuary of an idol; this could have been a humble construction or a lavish shrine, depending on the socio-economic level of the tribe(s) involved. Whenever there is reference to a sanctuary with a custodian, one can expect to find a treasury as well. The idol Suwā' in wadi Ruhāt, for example, had a treasury. Reportedly, 'Amr b. al-Āṣ ordered his men to destroy its treasury (*bayt hizānatihi*) and found nothing in it.<sup>193</sup>

The *hizānah* (treasury) of the Ka'bah was in fact the treasury of the idol Hubal (*hizānah li-l-qurbān*, § 80); its offerings were stored there. It is referred to as a *bī'r* (a pit); it was originally an uncovered area where jewels and other gifts were cast.<sup>194</sup> The pit was three cubits deep in the middle of the Ka'bah, on the right side of one who entered it.<sup>195</sup> Elsewhere it is referred to as a *ḡubb* (which is synonymous with *bī'r*) dug by Abraham.<sup>196</sup> The treasury also included revenue from Hubal's divination arrows (*azlām*). The person in charge of the arrows (*ṣāhib al-qidāḥ*) is said to have received 100 *dirhams* and a camel for sacrifice.<sup>197</sup> Swords are associated with this treasury and with other treasuries of idols. For example, Quṣayy b. Kilāb's maternal grandfather, Sa'd b. Sayal al-Azdī, gave Quṣayy's father two decorated swords that were deposited in the treasury of the Ka'bah.<sup>198</sup> Perfume (*ḥalūq*) and aloes-wood (*muḡmar*) donated to the Ka'bah before Islam were used to incense it both inside and outside.<sup>199</sup>

Beside the pit, the pre-Islamic *hizānat al-Ka'bah* also included a dry storage place where precious textiles that were used to cover the Ka'bah were stored.<sup>200</sup> During Ibn al-Zubayr's rebuilding of the Ka'bah, its jewelry (*ḥilyah*) was stored in *hizānat al-Ka'bah*, which was in the house of Ṣaybah b. 'Uṭmān of the 'Abd al-Dār.<sup>201</sup>

193 Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maḡāzī*, 2:870.

194 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:87; Rubin (1986): 117.

195 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:117.

196 Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-manṭūr*, 1:330.

197 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:118.

198 Al-Kalā'ī, *al-Iktifā'*, 1:29.

199 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:251. But cf. *ibid.*, 1:253: Ibn al-Zubayr was the first to perfume (*ḥallaqa*) the inside (*ḡawf*) of the Ka'bah. Al-Qalqaṣandī, *Ma'āṭir al-ināfah*, 1:123, states that Ibn al-Zubayr was the first to perfume the Ka'bah both inside and outside. But elsewhere it is said that Mu'āwiyah was the first to use *ḥalūq* and *muḡmar* to incense the Ka'bah; Yāqūt, *Mu'jam al-buldān*, 4:467, s.v. al-Ka'bah.

200 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:251.

201 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:207. See also *ibid.*, 2:253 (Ṣaybah's house that included the

The Prophet is supposed to have found seventy thousand ounces of gold in the treasury of the Ka'bah. 'Alī advised him to use the funds for war expenses, but Muḥammad decided not to touch them, and Abū Bakr followed his example.<sup>202</sup> By contrast, the historian Ya'qūbī supported the opposing view, that after the conquest of Mecca, Muḥammad distributed the contents of the treasury.<sup>203</sup> Reportedly, 'Umar b. al-Ḥaṭṭāb did not touch it. Šaybah b. 'Utmān, the custodian of the Ka'bah at the time of Muḥammad who lived to the end of Mu'āwiyah's caliphate, protected the treasury. A man who brought a gift from another man to the Ka'bah told Šaybah that had it been his own property, he would not have donated it. Šaybah is supposed to have told him that 'Umar had taken an oath to distribute the treasury's funds, but changed his mind after Šaybah convinced him not to. Šaybah told 'Umar that the Prophet and Abū Bakr, who needed the funds more than he did, had not touched them.<sup>204</sup>

Among the precious items kept in the treasury was a golden gazelle which was stolen, among other items, by Muḥammad's paternal uncle, Abū Lahab.<sup>205</sup> In connection with this theft we find a crucial detail regarding the social and economic role of the treasury. Abū Musāfi' al-Aš'arī, a client (*ḥalīf*) of the Maḥzūm, who was himself one of the culprits, referred to it in a verse as "the gazelle which you acquired together with its jewels for the calamities and the changing fortunes" (*inna l-ğazāla llađī kuntum wa-ḥilyatahū/taqnūnahū li-ḥuṭūbi l-dahri wa-l-ğiyari*).<sup>206</sup> It follows that the gazelle—and no doubt the treasury as a whole—was a tribal community fund.<sup>207</sup>

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treasury was located near *Dār al-Nadwah* and had a gate connecting it to the Ka'bah). Cf. "Dār al-Nadwa," in *ET*<sup>3</sup> (H. Munt).

202 Al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:246–247.

203 Al-Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīḥ*, 2:61 (*wa-rawā ba'dhum anna rasūla llāh qasama mā kāna fī l-Ka'bah minā l-māl bayna l-muslimīna wa-qāla āḥarūna aqarrahū*).

204 Ibn 'Asākir, *Dimašq*, 23:259–260 (*qad ra'ayā makānahu fa-lam yuḥarrikāhu wa-humā aḥ-waḡu ilā l-māl minka*); cf. al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 1:245–246. The Ġurhum unjustly took the money donated to the Ka'bah; al-Ṭabarī, *Ta'rīḥ*, 1:1131 (*wa-akalū māla l-Ka'bah llađī yuhdā lahā*). When the caliph 'Umar II turned one of his Meccan houses into a charitable endowment for the housing of pilgrims, he deposited the endowment document in the treasury of the Ka'bah and instructed the custodians to look after the house; al-Azraqī, *Aḥbār Makkah*<sup>2</sup>, 2:241.

205 Rubin (2007).

206 Al-'Askarī, *al-Awā'il*, 1:65; Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Munammaq* 62. Ibn al-Ğawzī, *al-Muntaẓam*, 2:209, has a garbled text. Ibn Hišām, *al-Sirah al-nabawīyah*, 1:205, has a censored version of the report. It includes no names of Qurašīs, and the only name is that of Duyayk, a *mawlā* of the Ḥuzā'ah in whose house the unspecified "treasure belonging to the Ka'bah" (*kanz li-l-Ka'bah*) was found. Cf. Lecker (2014).

207 Possibly comparable to the community fund of the Jewish Banū l-Naḍir; Lecker (2015).

## 4.2 *The Treasury of Allāt*

The prominence of the ʿAqīf tribe in early Islamic politics and literature is reflected in the rich literary evidence about their idol, Allāt, and its treasury. Most of the evidence is legendary, but in the background there is a layer of relatively reliable detail. It is a matter of separating the wheat from the chaff.

The ʿAqīf delegation that came to Medina in Ramaḍān 9/December 630–January 631 “asked to be exempted from having to demolish Allāt and al-ʿUzzā by themselves, to which he [Muḥammad] assented. Muḡīrah b. Šuʿbah said: I was the one who demolished it.”<sup>208</sup> Muḡīrah was referring to Allāt. Muḥammad rejected their demand to keep Allāt for one year. His reply mentions *al-ṭāḡīyah*, which is glossed as Allāt and al-ʿUzzā<sup>209</sup>—perhaps there was a statue of al-ʿUzzā in Ṭāʿif.<sup>210</sup>

The core report in the relatively long chapter on the ʿAqīf delegation found in Ibn Šabbah’s history of Medina goes back to Ibn ʿUqbah < Zuhri. In the report, ʿAqīf’s idol is referred to as al-Rabbah. The ʿAqīf feared that if the idol knew that they were rushing to destroy it, it would kill their families. This fear was voiced by the delegation head, ʿAbd Yālil. Upon returning to Ṭāʿif the delegation members visited Allāt before proceeding to their homes.<sup>211</sup> The sanctuary of Allāt was in the middle of Ṭāʿif; it was veiled and received gifts of camels for sacrifice. They (i.e. the ʿAqīf) made it similar to the Kaʿbah and worshipped it (*bayt kāna bayna ṣahrayi l-Ṭāʿif yustaru wa-yuhdā lahā* [sic] *l-hady, ḍāhaw bihi bayta llāh*

208 Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:271.

209 Kister (1979); al-Baḡawī, *Tafsīr*, 4:140; al-Qurṭubī, *al-Ġāmiʿ*, 10:299. It is noteworthy that the report refers to idols (plural) in general (*mattiʿnā bi-ālīhatinā sanah ḥattā naʿḥuḍa mā yuhdā ilayhā fa-idā aḥaḍnāhu kasarnāhā wa-aslamnā*). The shrewd Ṭaqafis knew what Muḥammad should tell the other Arabs, should they reprove him with regard to ʿAqīf’s prerogative (*in kāna bika malāmatu l-ʿarab fī kasr aṣnāmihim wa-tark aṣnāmihā fa-qul lahum inna rabbī amaranī an uqirra Allāt bi-arḍihim sanah*); Muqātil, *Tafsīr*, 2:266–267; Kister (1979): 6–7. Muqātil does not mention his source, but he could have received it from his contemporary al-Kalbī. Ibn Šabbah, *Taʾrīḥ al-Madīnah*, 2:510–511, has an abridged version of the same report going back to al-Kalbī. Al-Kalbī’s report as found in Ibn Šabbah was transmitted by Ḥammād b. Salamah; cf. an *isnād* in which Ḥammād quotes al-Kalbī in al-Ṭabarānī, *al-Muʿjam al-kabīr*, 23:163. Since al-Kalbī’s report specifically refers to Qurʾān 17:73, one assumes that it is from al-Kalbī’s *Tafsīr*.

210 Cf. King (2002): 108. After the conclusion of their treaty with Muḥammad, the ʿAqīf asked to keep Allāt for three years, and they continued haggling about it until they came down to a respite of one month after their return to Ṭāʿif. However, Muḥammad would not grant them a postponement for a definite period; Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawiyyah*, 4:184–185; al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:968.

211 Having embraced Islam, ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd al-Ṭaqafī returned home without visiting al-Rabbah first, which the Ṭaqafis found unusual; al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:960. They became suspicious when he did not approach Allāt and did not shave his head at it; *ibid.*, 3:961.

*wa-kānū yaʿbudūnahā*). Muḡīrah b. Šuʿbah smashed the door and, together with others, leveled the sanctuary. Still, the *ṣāhib al-mafātīḥ* (i.e. the custodian<sup>212</sup>) thought that the foundation would be provoked and the aggressors would be swallowed up (*la-yaḡḍabanna l-asās wa-la-yuḡṣafanna bihim*), so the foundation was dug up and the idol's jewels and covers (*tiyāb*) were removed.<sup>213</sup> These details regarding Allāt are from Zuhri's report.

The Taqīf were divided into two rival subdivisions, the Aḥlāf, or the allies, and the Mālik. In the Battle of Ḥunayn and during the siege of Ṭāʾif, Qārib b. al-Aswad carried the banner of the Aḥlāf.<sup>214</sup> Muḡīrah too belonged to the Aḥlāf, and the Aḥlāfi members of the Taqīf delegation lodged with him.<sup>215</sup> When Muḡīrah demolished Allāt, his clan, the Banū Muʿattib, gave him shelter.<sup>216</sup> The delegation head, ʿAbd Yālil, belonged to another branch of the Aḥlāf. The custodians of Allāt from the Aḥlaf were the Banū l-ʿAḡlān b. ʿAttāb b. Mālik b. Kaʿb; ʿAttāb may have been the first custodian.<sup>217</sup> Another source takes us one or two generations later: the custodians were the Banū Šubayl b. al-ʿAḡlān. One of them is mentioned specifically, namely Munabbih b. Šubayl.<sup>218</sup> There is yet another claim regarding the custodians' identity, that they were the family (*āl*) of Abū l-ʿĀš of the Mālik.<sup>219</sup>

Allāt's treasury included funds (*māl*) in gold and onyx, in addition to jewels.<sup>220</sup> The *ḡabḡab*, or Allāt's treasury, was half a man's height deep and included

212 Al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:972, has *sādin*. A person referred to as *ṣāhib al-mafātīḥ* held the keys to the treasury of the caliph ʿUtmān; Miskawayh, *Taḡārib al-umam*, 1:455.

213 Ibn Šabbah, *Taʾrīḥ al-Madīnah*, 2:499–515; Zuhri's report, 2:501–507. The passage on al-Rabbah, 2:503–504, is garbled (*law taʿlamu l-Rabbah annaka turīdu hadmahā qatalat ahlīnā*). A better reading is found in al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:967 (*law taʿlamu l-Rabbah annā awḍaʿnā fī hadmihā qatalat ahlānā*).

214 Ibn Ḥaḡar, *al-İṣābah*<sup>2</sup>, 5:403.

215 Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 1:271.

216 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 4:186; al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:971–972.

217 *Wa-ṣāhibuhā minhum ʿAttāb ... tumma banūhu baʿdahu*; al-Wāqidi, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:972. Wellhausen thought that Muʿattib and ʿAttāb were the same, but this is not the case; Wellhausen (1897): 31; Caskel (1966), 1: table 118. See also Krone (1992): 427–429.

218 Ibn al-Kalbī, *Ġamharat al-nasab* 388.

219 Ibn Ḥabīb, *al-Muḡhabbar* 315. For Abū l-ʿĀš's pedigree see Ibn Ḥazm, *Ġamharat ansāb al-ʿarab* 266. The family in question played a significant role in Islam. ʿUtmān b. Abī l-ʿĀš, whose mother was Umayyad, was married to an Umayyad woman. He was Muḡammad's governor in Ṭāʾif. Muḡammad instructed him to place the mosque of Ṭāʾif at the former place of the idols (*ḥayṭu kānat ṭawāḡituhum*); al-Qurtubī, *al-Ġāmiʿ*, 8:255. The left minaret of the mosque was later built on the site of Allāt; al-Qurtubī, *al-Ġāmiʿ*, 17:99.

220 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 4:186. See also “al-Muḡhīra b. Šuʿba,” in *ET*<sup>2</sup> (Lamens): Muḡammad sent Muḡīrah to Ṭāʾif “to superintend the destruction of the national sanctuary and the liquidation of the treasure of al-Lāt.”

its jewels and cover, in addition to perfume, gold, and silver (*balaḡa niṣf qāmah wa-ntahā* [i.e. al-Muḡīrah] *ilā l-ḡabḡab ḥizānatiḥā wa-ntazaʿū ḥilyataḥā wa-kiswataḥā wa-mā fiḥā min ṭīb wa-min dahab aw* [read: *wa-*] *fiḡḡa*).<sup>221</sup> Muḥammad used the funds of Allāt's treasury (*māl al-ṭāḡiyah* or *ḥulīyy al-Rabbah*) to repay a debt of two hundred gold *mitqāls* (*dīnārs*) left by the murdered ʿUrwah b. Masʿūd al-Ṭaqafī. He did this at the request of ʿUrwah's son, Abū Mulayḥ. He also repaid a debt of the same amount left by the former's brother, al-Aswad b. Masʿūd, at the request of the latter's son, Qārib.<sup>222</sup> There were also other unspecified beneficiaries, and some funds were spent on weapons for the *ḡihād*.<sup>223</sup>

The abolition of Allāt and appropriation of its treasury deprived the Ṭaqafīs of a central financial institution that may well have functioned as a bank, providing loans and guarantees. Through the Islamization of the Kaʿbah the Quraṣīs in the rival town of Mecca preserved their own financial institution, namely the treasury of the Kaʿbah.

#### 4.3 *The Treasury of Manāt*

Saʿd b. Zayd of the Anṣār, specifically of the ʿAbd al-Aṣḥal (Aws), is said to have destroyed Manāt. His expedition force found nothing in its treasury (*walam yaḡidū fi ḥizānatiḥā ṣayʿan*).<sup>224</sup> Abū Sufyān and ʿAlī b. Abī Ṭālib (separately) claimed credit for demolishing Manāt.<sup>225</sup> A somewhat vague reference to Manāt's treasury is linked to the latter, whom Muḥammad reportedly sent to Manāt, while he was going to conquer Mecca: "He took what belonged to her [i.e. Manāt] (*mā kāna lahā*) and brought it to the Messenger of God." Two swords are mentioned specifically.<sup>226</sup> Yet another who claimed credit is Ḥālid b. al-Walid whom Muḥammad sent to destroy Manāt during the expedition of al-Muraysīʿ.<sup>227</sup> It is not at all clear who destroyed Manāt, but two reports about its destruction refer to its treasury.

221 Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:972.

222 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 4:187; al-Wāqidī, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:971; Ibn Saʿd, *al-Ṭabaqāt*<sup>2</sup>, 8:66.

223 Al-Wāqidī, *al-Maḡāzī*, 3:972 (*wa-aʿṭā ... Abū Mulayḥ wa-Qāriban wa-nāsan wa-ḡaʿala fi sab-ili llāh wa-fi l-silāḥ minhā*).

224 Ibn Sayyid al-Nās, *ʿUyūn al-aṭar*, 2:250.

225 Ibn Hišām, *al-Sīrah al-nabawīyyah*, 1:88.

226 Lecker (2005a): 34. Cf. Lecker (2012): 126–128. However, according to another version, ʿAlī found the swords when he destroyed al-F(a/i)ls (§ 121).

227 Ibn Kaṭīr, *Tafsīr*<sup>2</sup>, 14:13.



#### 4.4 *The Treasury of al-‘Uzzá*

Regarding the treasury at al-‘Uzzá, there is, for the time being, only circumstantial evidence. First, al-‘Uzzá had both a *bayt* (sanctuary), and custodians. (Differences regarding the sanctuary’s shape and the identity of its custodians confirm the existence of both.) The combination of a sanctuary and custodians, as noted above, is indicative of a treasury. Second, there is evidence of votive gifts for which there must have been a treasury. Qurayš, for whom al-‘Uzzá was “the supreme idol,” would visit it, bring it their tributes, and slaughter animals at it.<sup>228</sup>

228 *Wa-kānat a‘ẓama l-aṣnām ‘inda Qurayš wa-kānū yazūrūnahā wa-yuhdūna ilayhā wa-yataqarrabūna ‘indahā bi-l-dabā’ih; Yāqūt, Mu‘jam al-buldān, 4:116, s.v. al-‘Uzzá. Ibn al-Kalbī has further detail regarding the special attachment of Qurayš to al-‘Uzzá, in which votive gifts played an essential part. See ibid., 4:118a: wa-lam takun Qurayš bi-Makkah wa-man aqāma bihā minā l-‘arab yu‘ẓimūna ṣay‘an minā l-aṣnām i‘ẓāmahumu l-‘Uzzá tumma Allāt tumma Manāt fa-ammā l-‘Uzzá fa-kānat Qurayš taḥuṣṣuhā dūna ġayrihā bi-l-hadiyyah wa-l-ziyārah wa-dālīka fīmā aẓunnu li-qurbihā minhum.*